



# ***Daily Report***

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## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-92-056  
Monday  
23 March 1992

# Daily Report

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23 March 1992

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## Rwanda

### Ruling Party, Opposition Discuss Transition

EA2003212592 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale  
de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT  
20 Mar 92

[Excerpts] The commission (?charged with) mediating between political parties on the formation of a transitional government [words indistinct] at the Urugwiro village. (?The meeting) was about the protocol of understanding which was concluded between National Revolutionary Development Movement [MRND], Republican Democratic Movement [MDR], Social Democratic Party [PSD], and Liberal Party [PL]. Correspondent Kamilindi was present.

[Kamilindi] [Passage omitted] The protocol clearly shows points of divergence and convergence. Regarding convergence, the four parties made a commitment to respect the constitution [words indistinct] and be part of the transition up to the elections, which will be organized at the communal [word indistinct] and presidential levels. Lastly, the government should not be a forum for misunderstanding, the transitional government must be characterized by a team spirit. Though every minister must maintain good relations with his party, he is first and foremost responsible to the prime minister and the president of the Republic.

The divergences are mainly over the transitional period and the sharing of government portfolios. The [words indistinct] together say that elections should be held within a 12-month period, while for the MRND, the period should be nine months.

Concerning portfolios, beginning with the post of prime minister, every party has the right to present one or two candidates to the president of the Republic [words indistinct].

Finally, the MDR, PSD, and PL presented a longer list of ministers [words indistinct] with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, and the Ministry of Information from the MDR; the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Agriculture, and the Ministry of Public Works from the PSD; the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Public Works from the PSD; the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Work and Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry from the PL; and the Christian Democratic Party [PDC] would hold the portfolio of tourism and environment.

The MRND presented four different scenarios [words indistinct] in case the MDR had the post of prime minister, [words indistinct] the PSD would have three portfolios, the PL three portfolios, and the PDC one portfolio.

### Prime Minister Affirms Penal Code Enforcement

LD2303043892 Paris Radio France International  
in French 1230 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Excerpt] In Rwanda there was a reminder by the authorities: Article 136 of the penal code is still in force. It punishes all remarks of a nature that sets one people against another and in particular any remarks of a nature that sets people against the authorities. In Kigali, everybody believed that Article 136 had fallen into abeyance since a multiparty system emerged last June. The Rwandan prime minister, Sylvester Nanzimana, gave details to Monique Maas:

[Begin Nanzimana recording] We remind those who have tendencies to misuse speech, writing, or radio to spread messages which might drive people to commit reprehensible acts as well as those who believe that they can say anything to the people or in meetings or on national radio. This reminder does not question the country's multiparty system. It is rather to let people know that the multiparty system does not create carte blanche to set people against each other. This is to let them know that when they address the public at large there might be reactions in all directions, even unpredictable ones. Therefore, they must understand that what they say might have consequences, and that they should know how to incorporate the necessary subtleties instead of setting people against each other. [end recording] [passage omitted]

### Public Prosecutor on Investigations, Arrests

EA2003221592 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale  
de la Republique Rwandaise in French 0430 GMT  
20 Mar 92

[Text] Bugesera is increasingly returning to normal. According to the public prosecutor, Nsanuwera, investigations are in progress to determine the origin and presumed instigators of the events which, he said, caused 152 dead, the figure currently cited by his office.

There have been 392 arrests thus far. The people are divided into two groups—those suspected of murder and those suspected of other offenses, such as burning and pillaging.

## Zaire

### Cabinet on National Conference, Respect for Order

LD2303121992 Kinshasa Zaire OZRT Television  
Network in French 1230 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Excerpts] Ministers and secretaries of state held their weekly meeting chaired by the Prime Minister Mr Jean Nguz a Karl-I-Bond on Friday, 20 March 1992. There were many topics on the agenda, particularly those concerning the resumption of the national sovereign conference, maintaining order and foreign relations. The members of the government also examined the result of

the referendum in South Africa. For more details, here is a report on the meeting by Communication Minister and Government Spokesman Mr Kitenge Yezu:

[Yezu] The current development of the issue of the national sovereign conference, the strike of state's civil servants, teachers and doctors as well as the activity report of the Ministry of External Affairs formed the main agenda of the cabinet meeting which Prime Minister Jean Nguz a Karl-I-Bond chaired on Friday 20 March 1992 at L'Hotel du Government. [passage omitted noting government tribute paid to Church leader who died]

Concerning the issue of the National Sovereign Conference the prime minister, who is the organizing authority of this forum, reported to the government on steps taken by him in implementing the advice given to him by the head of state to meet Monsignor Mossengwu, the chairman of the provisional bureau of the National Sovereign Conference so that both could examine the ways and means likely to allow the peaceful resumption of the conference within a national reconciliation framework, and in so doing relax the current political situation. The meeting did not take place. The prime minister will report to the head of state.

Following this state of affairs the government thinks that whatever the differences between the parties are, nationalism and patriotism require us to give greater importance to dialogue so that the higher interest triumphs, as is well understood by the people. In any rate, the government says that the new order long awaited by the Zairean people will not be established by disorder and violence in the streets, nor by attacks against the life and property of persons. Thus, the government once again takes this opportunity to draw the attention of the public opinion that it will deploy every effort to impose respect for public order and the authority of the state over all the national territory and this in conformity with the legal and recognised constitutional prerogatives. In this context it is recalled that demonstrations in the streets are banned until further notice. [passage omitted]

#### **Maintains Public Demonstrations Ban**

*AB2303083092 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French  
0730 GMT 22 Mar 92*

[Text] The Zairian authorities are determined to ensure respect for public order and state prerogatives at all cost. In a communique broadcast yesterday by the national

radio, the government, at its usual Friday Cabinet meeting, stressed that public demonstrations remained banned throughout the entire national territory. In addition, the Zairian Government has threatened to take disciplinary measures against striking civil servants and health workers if they do not resume work beginning next week.

The strike action by health workers in demand for salary increases is in its third week. Consequently, none of the services in Kinshasa's two major hospitals (Maman Yermo and Kitembo), are functioning.

It is noteworthy that this warning by the government, determined not to allow any public demonstrations, comes at a time when resolutions of the consultative meeting, held for nearly two weeks by parties belonging to a radical wing of the Sacred Union, are expected to be announced in Kinshasa. Sacred Union's radical wing has just stated that the meeting should come out with a strategy aimed at resuming the national conference whose deliberations have been suspended since 19 January.

#### **Youth, Sports, Culture Minister Movingi Resigns**

*AB2203122092 Paris AFP in English 1157 GMT  
22 Mar 92*

[Text] Kinshasa, March 22 (AFP)—Nyamwisi Movingi announced here Sunday [22 March] that he was resigning as minister of youth, sport and culture in the Zairian Government of Prime Minister Nguz A Karl-I-Bond saying it was heading for "disaster."

Nyamwisi gave the press a copy of his resignation letter in which he said the government's actions did not correspond to its "proclaimed goals" and the "way in which the democratic process is being conducted is one leading to disaster."

Nyamwisi, who was a member of the opposition Federalist Christian Democratic party (DCF), was excluded from both his party and the "Sacred Alliance" of opposition parties when he accepted a portfolio in the Karl-I-Bond government.

The resignation came a day before the opposition was due to make public the results of a 10-day conclave to map out its strategy in the face of the government's reluctance to revive a national conference on political reform suspended in January.

## Kenya

### President Moi Details 'Intentions' for Peace

EA2003184592 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in Swahili 1228 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Speech by President Daniel arap Moi upon arrival at the Kenyatta International Airport following his trip to Austria, England, and Sudan—live; italicized passages in English]

[Excerpts] Ambassadors, ladies, and gentlemen, first of all, I want to say that I have returned home with my companions after paying an official visit to Austria, where we were well received. We discussed matters of mutual interest as well as the good relations between us and the Austrians. [passage omitted]

After concluding our visit there, we passed through London because it is the same road. Kenyan citizens resident and students living in England send you greetings. Then, I stopped in Khartoum for a few hours at the Sudanese president's invitation for talks on good neighborliness between us and Sudan as well as their internal matters. It is then that we came home. We thank God for bringing us home safely.

Now, having arrived home, the thing I want to say is this: Our intentions from the outset—that is for more than ten years now—have been that people love one another and live in peace and unity. This is our stand. It is a stand that will enable these young people who are here now and those yet to be born to live in this country with great hopes. I do not want to say a lot today.

One thing has made me very angry, even sad: people using force. Force cannot bring about peace, force cannot make people like one another, nor can it unite them.

Some people think that the coming of the multiparty system means legal disobedience. This cannot be. It cannot be. With effect from today.... [Moi changes thought] As you know, our Constitution and the way we live is meant to enable citizens to move everywhere without being hurt, without fear, without anything else. To me this matter is more important than all we are doing. [applause] The thing I want to say is: With effect from today, the law must be obeyed and be followed fully. [applause] No one will be allowed to take the law into his own hands whoever he is [applause]—regardless of whether you are from the Kenya African National Union, Forum for the Restoration of Democracy, Democratic Party, or whatever. Even if you are a hyena [symbolizing rapacity], you must know that you will have to follow the law. [applause, shouts of "footsteps"] In all our affairs, that is, the way we want to build this country, a blind man will not see that, namely, that we have covered a long stretch. We are not permitted to do anything, but to destroy all that we have succeeded in building before.

What you have been hearing has something to do with the politics people are talking about *and clashes*. It is not so. It is political. In these matters, I say: Law and peace first and let everyone go wherever he wants without trouble.

With effect from now, I order district and provincial commissioners to stop meetings in all those areas. I do not want licenses for *politics* until this affair of the nationals [raia] subsides and people live in the right way. I myself shall follow this up later because I consider life to be more precious than all the other rubbish.

For this reason, whether you are here in Nairobi or anywhere else I do not want to hear about *demonstrations* and other disturbances that *disturb* the lives of citizens.

Women want to sell their vegetables, get some money, and return home with that money. The other worker wants to return home to do what he wants. There is nobody who says I will bring property tomorrow, everyone here will be in another world—it is all our efforts to work hard to cooperate in unity even if you are in a party and so on. [sentence as heard] You have to believe in your country Kenya. Kenya is your mother, Kenya is your father.

Moreover, another important thing: rumors. If I hear rumors anywhere and I am ordering the district commissioners and officers and the police—in *particular the police*—that anyone who engages in rumormongering *should be arrested* and taken to court because all the rumors being spread have brought death in many areas. Why? They circulate reports that certain people have been killed, yet nobody has been killed. Now the others who hear about this, they vacate *their homes* with everything they have—women, old men, everybody is affected.

I want all leaders, whether of the Kenya African National Union or others, to ask: If the leader himself weeps then what can the children do? When you cry, the children will say the world has collapsed. Yet the world has not collapsed. I am astonished at politicians, instead of investigating and learning the origins of things; it is just war. He is concerned about his seat and whether he will succeed in the elections. If you are elected by people who have died, who will vote for you?

For this reason you must have sharp ears. Just don't repeat whatever you hear. A leader is one who listens, learns, and discriminates between what is true and what is not. For this reason I do not want to hear rumors, and whoever spreads rumors, even if he is a big man—the prison does not consider a big man—he will enter even if the door is narrow you will be shoved in. [passage omitted]

When peace is *interrupted*, it makes me angry because I want the people to live in a free land. I want chiefs, sub-chiefs, everyone to find out who is causing this sort



of thing. Who is dividing the people? You know a country cannot be a country if the people cannot live together. [passage omitted]

There are also the newspapers. The newspapers write lies but they cannot stay outside of the law. The law will also pursue them. [applause] If there is somebody who believes that the newspapers can continue causing the deaths of citizens...then, the government will not tolerate that. Newspapers are not bigger than the lives of the citizens. [applause] They will be cast aside. *Freedom of the press* is not *freedom* to say dirty things about people. It is not *freedom* to abuse people and so on. [passage omitted]

With these few words may God bless you. [applause, followed by national anthem]

### Foreign Minister 'Shocked' Over Tribal Clashes

EA2003220592 Nairobi KNA in English 1616 GMT 20 Mar 92

["Signed press statement" by Wilson Ndolo Ayah, minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation and Kenya African National Union Chairman, on recent "tribal clashes"; place not given, 20 March]

[Text] Nairobi, 20 Mar (KNA)—"While I was away overseas on duty, many incidents of clashes were reported in the press between Kisumu/Kericho, Kisumu/Nandi and other areas of the Republic. I am deeply shocked and disgusted that Kenyans have attacked and killed each other for no apparent reason. Many have lost their lives and property in these clashes.

"First of all, I would like to categorically deny that there is any reason why [the] multi-party politics which we have introduced should lead to tribal or communal clashes. This country does not belong to any one group, individual nor community or is there any area which belongs to any political party. It is a pity that some politicians in Kenya have made statements categorising certain areas that belongs to this or that party. This kind of thinking is not only wrong but does not help any efforts to maintain peace in this country.

"I am convinced that our road to peace of political change which we have embarked upon should be led by leaders who understand that Kenya is for all Kenyans and we must support his excellency the president to lead this nation through a most difficult time, when we are facing multi-party elections.

"In my capacity as the national chairman of Kenya African National Union [KANU], I would like all members of KANU and their officials to provide leadership to peace and prosperity. I hope that my appeal will be taken seriously also by members of the opposition because no Kenyans should lose his property or life in the name of politics. I also appeal to all branches of security to do their work fairly and impartially."

### Police Report Ethnic Situation 'Improved'

EA2103210092 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1600 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] Meanwhile, police headquarters today said that the security situation in tribal-skirmish hit areas had improved.

In a statement, police boss Philip Kilonzo said that apart from pocket encounters with some mobs in Molo, Nakuru, and Trans-Nzoia, there was relative calm in Nairobi, Kisii, Sondu, Nyamira, and Kericho, the scenes of ugly confrontations last week.

Kilonzo clarified that 62 people have died and 231 injured in the ongoing communal clashes. He said that thousands have also been displaced from places of work or residence in the country since 1 March.

The police report said that today three people are in critical condition after being shot by bows and arrows in Njoro [near Nakuru] area, and at (Kwaroda) state in Nakuru one man was shot with an arrow and died in hospital. The report also says that in Kitale seven [word indistinct] were burned in (Kwiniin) farm while seven head of cattle were stolen at (Maili Saba) area.

## Tanzania

### Active Military Barred From Revolutionary Party

EA2103064092 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania Network in Swahili 1900 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Excerpt] Dar es Salaam: The National Executive Committee [NEC] has resolved that members of the Armed Forces who would like to continue in the military will be obliged to give up their Revolutionary Party [CCM] membership once the law permitting the multiparty system is endorsed by parliament.

The NEC made this decision today after discussing the question of political parties and the Armed Forces under the multiparty system. The NEC has recommended that the CCM make preparations to bid farewell in a ceremonial manner to all members of the Armed Forces dealing in defense and security who used to be under the department of the party since the military prior to the amendments of the CCM constitution endorsed yesterday. [passage omitted]

**Pik Botha on 'Irreversible' Demise of Apartheid**

*MB2103072092 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2012 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Text] Pretoria Mar 20 SAPA—South Africa has expressed solidarity with the objectives of the international day for the elimination of racial discrimination. The minister of foreign affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said on Friday [20 March] "(South Africa) shares the widely-held belief that all people should be equal before the law, and that they should enjoy equal rights regardless of race, colour, sex or creed".

Steps taken in South Africa to eliminate racial discrimination included the abolishment of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1916, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act. The National Peace Accord and Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] were also a further milestone in South Africa's commitment to a non-racial society, Mr Botha said.

He said during the referendum on Tuesday no less than 68.6 per cent of South Africans had endorsed President F W de Klerk's continuation of the negotiation process. "The demise of apartheid is now irreversible. It can never be resuscitated. More than two-thirds of the white electorate rejected apartheid," Mr Botha said.

"Now is the time to do away with structures in the rest of the world which were established to resist and fight apartheid—including structures in the United Nations, for the simple reason that apartheid in South Africa is extinct," Mr Botha said.

He said what was needed now was encouragement of the negotiation process, "and above all economic growth. What is needed are jobs, better education, housing, medical facilities".

**Foreign Minister Pik Botha Visits Taiwan**

*WA2003130792*

For reportage on the visit to Taiwan by Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha, including reports on his talks with Foreign Minister Chien Fu, please see the Taiwan section of the 23 March China DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

**Defense Minister on Need for Citizen Force**

*MB2103105092 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0843 GMT 21 Mar 92*

[Text] Ellisras March 21 SAPA—Military service was compulsory and would be enforced regardless of rumours, distorted facts and outright lies spread by anti-defence force organisations and people, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said on Saturday [21 March]. Addressing a medal parade of the Hillcrest Regiment at Ellisras in the Northern Transvaal, he said escalating violence and unrest had forced a return to the 60-day

call-up system, but once stability was sufficiently established in South Africa he would not hesitate to reduce Citizen Force commitments.

The present system provided the SA [South African] Defence Force with flexibility which could be increased rapidly whenever the need arose and be decreased when the situation was normalised. "In the meantime I must state it clearly that military service is compulsory in terms of the Defence Act and will be enforced as such. Those members of the Citizen Force or the Commandos who fail to report for military service when called up, will be prosecuted," the minister warned. "In this regard I regrettably have to make mention of a number of members belonging to this regiment against whom disciplinary action had to be taken on account of their failure to report for service."

Mr Meyer said some people alleged that South Africa was now in a so-called post-war phase and many critical questions were being asked about the extent of the defence budget, the Citizen Force and the system of military service.

The defence force presently made use of about 10,000 servicemen, members of the Citizen Force and Commandos, as well as volunteers country-wide for border security tasks in order to guarantee the country's territorial integrity and ensure stability. "It is only natural that the system of compulsory military service will have to change in the future, but it would be wrong to run any risk while the Defence Force is responsible for ensuring stability in cooperation with the SA Police," Mr Meyer said.

"It is also so that existing inequalities will have to be addressed in the future. However the existing system can only be revised once the Constitution has been revised."

Constitutional development would obviously influence this, but it would serve no purpose now to predict what could happen and one should rather look to the results of negotiations at a later stage. "The present structure of the SA Defence Force undoubtedly still suits our unique circumstances," the minister said.

**Defense Minister on Deadlock Over MK Disbanding**

*MB2303115492 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1050 GMT 23 Mar 92*

[Text] Johannesburg Mar 23 SAPA—Defence Minister Roelf Meyer was on Monday confident the apparent deadlock over the disbanding of the African National Congress' [ANC] military wing could be resolved.

Speaking at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], Mr Meyer said the issue of Umkhonto we Sizwe's [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing—MK] continued existence was being discussed bilaterally between the government and the ANC.

General discussion on private armies was on the agenda of working group one dealing with free political participation, but the MK issue would continue on a bilateral basis before it came to Codesa.

The defence minister told SAPA he had never referred to Codesa Two being suspended if MK was not disbanded, but had emphasised government's principles in the matter.

"The matter has to be solved bilaterally—and these talks are continuing.

"I think the issue can be resolved."

Throughout the recent referendum, cabinet ministers said they would not enter into any agreement on interim government until MK was disbanded—and Mr Meyer was quoted at the weekend as saying Codesa two would not go ahead if this did not happen.

The ANC on Monday morning confirmed its statement that it would not disband its armed wing until interim government was in place.

Mr Meyer appeared unperturbed by this, however. "That's their standpoint," he said. "We have ours."

#### **ANC 'Adamant' on Not Disbanding Military Wing**

*MB2203163292 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1608 GMT 22 Mar 92*

[Text] Johannesburg March 22 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] is adamant it will not disband its armed wing despite reports of a threat by the government to cancel Codesa Two [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] if it does not.

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus on Sunday [22 March] said the government was playing a dangerous game which was not in the interests of peace, progress and the country.

A Sunday weekly reported the ministers of defence and constitutional development as saying: "...any deal depended on the ANC abandoning its armed struggle".

Ms Marcus said Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation (MK); ANC military wing] would never be disbanded as it would eventually be integrated into a single democratised army.

She said there were only private armies in South Africa at the moment—there was no people's army, the creation of which was one of the aims of negotiations.

#### **Daily Views ANC, Government 'Test of Strength'**

*MB2203120092 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES  
in English 22 Mar 92 pp 1-2*

[Report by Political Staff: "It's a Showdown"—passage in boldface as published]

[Text] The government and the ANC [African National Congress] are locked in a test of strength—only days after President FW De Klerk's resounding referendum win.

Cabinet ministers said this weekend there would be no Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] Two unless the ANC finally abandoned the armed struggle and dismantled its military wing.

Meanwhile ANC leader Nelson Mandela warned his organisation would destroy the economy unless the government backed down from its decision to impose VAT [value-added tax] on basic foodstuffs in 10 days' time.

The statements spell the end of the tacit truce called by the two parties during the referendum campaign and mark the beginning of serious negotiations for a political settlement.

Outlining first details of the "Super Cabinet" they envisage will be ruling South Africa within months, top government negotiators, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, bluntly warned that any deal was dependent on the ANC abandoning the armed struggle.

They also said there would be no Codesa Two—the plenary session scheduled for the end of April—unless the dispute over participation by the Zulu king was resolved.

Anticipating tough negotiations at Codesa in forthcoming weeks, Dr Viljoen said: "We will enter a new phase of debate where what has been avoided will become the central focus."

He said the government would require a comprehensive agreement on all the aspects of the DF Malan Accord, which dealt with the suspension of the armed struggle, a transitional executive and the role to be played by security forces in the transitional period.

Mr Meyer said there would have to be agreement on the scrapping of private armies before South Africa could enter the transitional period.

At the heart of Codesa's work in the weeks immediately ahead is the creation of an appointed "Super Cabinet" which will run the country, and in particular the security forces, until an elected interim government is in place.

Both government and ANC negotiators are confident that agreement will be reached before the end of April, in time for Codesa Two, and that the interim executive will be in place before the end of July.

The government wants the ANC to share power and have full responsibility for decisions taken by the interim executive. The ANC wants an interim executive, comprising all the Codesa political parties, which will oversee four multi-party committees—budget, local government, security and foreign affairs—and two non-partisan commissions, the media and the electoral process.



Dr Viljoen this week proposed a formula whereby other Codesa members could be drawn into cabinet-level responsibility while still having the right to opt out if they wish.

One of the options the government will propose to Codesa is the appointment of multi-party committees to advise the "Super Cabinet" on issues such as the security forces. The committees would be "consultative", but it would be very difficult for the cabinet minister concerned to ignore their demands.

Dr Viljoen added that the government would not accept the ANC's idea of creating a structure that would be above the present cabinet and Parliament.

Despite the tough rhetoric, there are signs of compromise.

Mr Meyer said he believed there was general acceptance on the side of the ANC that the setting up of an appointed interim executive needed to be linked to abandoning the armed struggle and disbanding MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe—Spear of the Nation—ANC military wing].

ANC negotiators, meanwhile, dismissed suggestions that the existence of MK and the demand that it renounce the armed struggle constituted a major obstacle. This matter would be dealt with in setting up mechanisms to control all security forces and private armies that would form part of the agreement on the interim executive.

The rift between the government and the ANC-Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions]-SA [South African] Communist Party alliance over joint decision-making in the economy has, meanwhile, resurrected itself in the wake of the referendum.

Mr Mandela, on three occasions in Cape Town on Friday, attacked the reimposition of VAT on eight basic foodstuffs exempted last year to assist the poor—and threatened to destroy the economy with mass action to stop the extended tax being imposed on March 31.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis declined to comment.

#### **Yes Vote Weakens Hard-Line Elements Within Army**

MB2003195892 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL  
in English 20-26 Mar 92 p 3

[Report by Gavin Evans: "Yes Puts the Army Boot on the Other Foot"]

[Text] Wednesday's overwhelming yes vote has significantly weakened the position of the cabal of top army generals opposed to the government's approach to negotiations and has strengthened the hand of hard-pressed Defence Minister Roelf Meyer.

This is the conclusion drawn by several sources within and close to the South African Defence Force [SADF],

most of whom believe that a wing-clipping of hard-line elements within the Department of Military Intelligence (DMI) is now inevitable.

The 68.7 percent pro-negotiations vote has confirmed that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) is the only political show in town, and those within the security forces still seen to oppose it will have to go.

As one senior SADF source, who asked not to be named, put it: "SADF chief Kat Liebenberg and most of the army top brass under him did not necessarily favour a no vote, but they were very wary about the implications of a strong yes vote.

"Almost all of them were highly suspicious of Codesa and very sceptical of its prospects. They simply did not believe it would work and were certainly not above turning a blind eye to anyone placing a spanner in the works."

According to another source close to the SADF, there has already been an attempt to "clean up" the DMI, without much effect.

"From now on it will be pursued with greater vigour," he said. "You can be sure the view that there are shadowy elements within or connected to the DMI who are actively involved in promoting township violence is no longer confined to the liberal left, so you can expect some heads to roll."

The case against the DMI and the special forces, already damning following the Civil Co-operation Bureau [CCB] expose, has become overwhelming in recent months, with the exposure of DMI involvement in training Inkatha recruits, the symbiotic relationship between the DMI and the kwaZulu Police and several front companies set up by the DMI, in addition to claims by several sources that the special forces had been involved in train massacres in Mozambique and South Africa and were continuing to support Renamo rebels in Mozambique.

The Weekly Mail's military sources point out that while the airforce, navy and medical services are dominated by men removed from politics, resistance to Meyer has come from the army generals accustomed to a central political role from the days of former president P.W. Botha.

They note that five of the nine retired security force top brass who announced their support for a no vote were former army officers, and none were former airforce or naval officers, while half of the 12 retired officers who supported a yes vote served in the airforce and navy.

Liebenberg—who in the mid-1980s headed the SADF's special forces which gave birth to the CCB hit-squad network—has been at loggerheads with Meyer and is said to have been behind the sacking of Meyer's chief Defence Ministry spokesman Chris van der Westhuizen.



The generals used a couple of "soft" statements on the issue of conscientious objectors, emanating from the Defence Ministry, as the impetus to get rid of Van der Westhuizen. But there was more to it than that: Van der Westhuizen was considered too independent, too close to Meyer, too supportive of the Goldstone Commission and too critical of the securocrat perspective to be relied upon.

"They have isolated Meyer completely and have tried to cut him off from independent counsel within his ministry. Some of the generals are openly saying he's not man enough for the job and are using the fact that he spends a lot of time on Codesa work to undermine him," a defence source noted.

"Some want him out, but the referendum result may have placed the shoe on the other foot. There's no doubt the outcome significantly strengthens Meyer and President F.W. de Klerk's hands relative to the generals."

While no one disputes that tensions exist, the experts differ on how far they go and on their implications.

Jane's Defence Weekly's South African correspondent Helmoed Romer-Heitman believes they have been overstated: "There may be some in defence headquarters with different opinions, and the minister and the generals may not like each other terribly much, but I think the differences have been exaggerated.

"One can expect that when things like budget cuts happen, the minister is the lightning rod for their grumbles—especially from the middle-ranking officers concerned about their futures."

Romer-Heitman is also sceptical of the notion of a strong rightwing presence within the DMI.

"They are not necessarily nice guys but they are pragmatists. In the past, they were ahead of the politicians in promoting reform and they have long pushed the notion that the war is 80 percent political and 20 percent military.

"On the other hand, the DMI handled a lot of the anti-African National Congress [ANC] operations and it is probable that some middle-ranking guys are unhappy."

The government and the SADF are emphasising their demand for the ANC to end—rather than suspend—its armed struggle and for Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] to be disbanded and reveal the location of its arms caches.

The ANC, in turn, is calling for an agreement on its forces being integrated into a new, non-conscript based defence force, and is demanding the curtailment of the DMI and the special forces.

Progress at Codesa will require compromises on both sides—which, at minimum, will mean that the DMI, the Recces [Reconnaissance] and probably 32 Battalion will have their wings clipped.

One can expect a few generals to be eased into early retirement, while a handful of others might follow the path taken by 32 Battalion's legendary Colonel Jan Breytenbach—openly opposing De Klerk.

But everyone who knows the SADF from the inside agrees: there will be no coup attempts.

### Justice Ministry Denies Execution Reports

*MB2303122292 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1100 GMT 23 Mar 92*

[Text] Nineteen death row prisoners have had their sentences commuted to terms of imprisonment ranging from 20 years to life. The Ministry of Justice said in a statement that further announcements in this regard could be expected in due course.

It rejected reports of the imminent execution of 17 death row prisoners who had not received a pardon from the state president. The ministry said it had replied to a question about how many people on death row had not received a pardon. The reply was 17. But no indication was given as to whether any one would be executed. It expressed regret that Lawyers for Human Rights had attempted to politicize the issue instead of approaching the ministry directly. It pointed out that the decision to grant a reprieve or pardon to a convicted person was legal and legitimate. It has emphasized in the statement that no executions may [be] carried out before the people concerned have been notified officially.

### Reserve Bank To Reduce Bank Rate 1 Percent

*MB2103070092 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 0500 GMT 21 Mar 92*

[Text] The Reserve Bank has announced that it is to reduce its bank rate by 1 percentage point on Monday [23 Mar]. Our economics desk reports that the reduction creates the necessary scope for commercial banks to reduce their prime lending rate, and that these announcements can be expected early next week.

The governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr. Chris Stals, also announced that the bank had reduced its goal for the growth in the money supply to between 7 and 10 percent, compared with the previous 8 to 12 percent.

The bank would also become actively involved in the financial rand market from Monday, with its own foreign reserves. Dr. Stals said it was necessary for the Reserve Bank to intervene, to create greater market stability.

**Consumers To Pay VAT on Zero-Rated Foodstuffs**

*MB2003202792 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network  
in English 1600 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Text] Consumers will soon have to pay VAT [Value-Added Tax] on foodstuffs which have been temporarily zero-rated, with the exception of brown bread and maize meal. Since last year certain basic foodstuffs have been exempt from VAT but as from the 1 April shoppers will have to dig a little deeper into their pockets for certain foods. This means that a 10 percent VAT will be payable on samp, mealie rice, dried mealies, dried beans, lentils, pilchards or (sardanella), fresh milk, milk powders and rice.

**Mandela Warns Against Taxing Basic Foodstuffs**

*MB2003181592 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1730 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[By Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Cape Town Mar 20 SAPA—African National Congress President Nelson Mandela on Friday [20 March] warned the government and South African industry they would be hard-hit if the minister of finance carried out his threat to tax basic foodstuffs from March 31.

He told a cheering, toyi-toying crowd of 700 at the Key West coast town of Saldanha that if the government remained silent on this issue it would cause turmoil.

"We cannot fail to protect our people." He said.

Mr Mandela was introduced to a rally by the chairman of the Western Cape Region, Dr Allan Boesak, who said he had brought Mr Mandela for them to see so they would recognise him as being their man when he sat in Tuynhuys, the State President's Office.

Referring to the past referendum he said "it is the last time whites will say anything without us; next time we will all say it together".

"That white president sitting in Tuynhuys and that white government sitting in parliament will be the last."

Mr Mandela apologised that an earlier visit planned for last year had to be postponed, but assured the crowd that the west coast people were close to his heart and in the thoughts of the ANC [African National Congress] National Executive.

He identified the plight of local fishermen as one of the major problems of the area with which the ANC was grappling, and offered to head a delegation to State President F W de Klerk.

"I'm not prepared to see any junior ministers anymore."

Black fishermen, meaning in this case particularly coloureds, who were fortunate enough to be able to work and catch crayfish, sold these to the industry at 29 cents a kilogram.

"But the industry sells that same kilo for 29 dollars. What exploitation! That is a situation of great concern to us."

Mr Mandela said local leaders had seen the most influential firms in the industry and representatives of government, including the responsible minister, to make the most urgent representations to solve this problem.

"But we are dealing with a regime that has no interest whatsoever in our people. They say black fishermen who cannot make a living from the sea.... Its their problem.

"There is this question of a quota. Black fishermen are not allowed to have one and that too is matter that must be fought.

"We are trying to evolve a strategy to hit back at those who deprive our people of a livelihood to enable our people to afford the basic necessities of life."

Turning again to the issue of VAT [Value-Added Tax], Mr Mandela said the government decision to impose tax on basic foodstuffs had been discussed at length last year with the state president and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis where the problem of poverty and unemployment had been clearly spelled out.

"Now we have a serious drought and seven million of our people are out of employment—where are they going to get money for food?"

The drought was virtually doubling up the price of food in rand terms and insolvent farmers' labourers were joining the unemployed in large numbers.

"It is a serious situation. We say to Barend du Plessis that to tax food is looking for trouble.

"He is provoking our people. It is a situation we cannot allow.

"If the ruling party carries out the threat of taxing basic foodstuffs on March 31, we must let them know we will hit the regime and industry very hard.

"If they close their mouths they will cause turmoil. We cannot fail to protect our people.

"When the moment arrives you will rally around the ANC and Cosatu."

Mr Mandela called on those present to go home and persuade their friends and relatives to join the ANC.

Although R [rand] 12 was perhaps too difficult for many, it would ensure a powerful organisation which could win the next election and ensure that they had a say in the organisation involved in winning that election.

"Remember that old man in front of you is a man who loves you in every sense of the word," he greeted them.

Mr Mandela's rally is part of a programme aimed at extending the ANC's presence in the Western Cape. Congresses have been told local leaders find it difficult to obtain support in the coloured community.

### Threatens To 'Destroy' Economy

*MB2103062392 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 0500 GMT 21 Mar 92*

[Text] The president of the ANC [African National Congress], Mr. Nelson Mandela, has threatened to, as he put it, destroy South Africa's economy with mass action if necessary, to halt a proposed tax on basic food. From 31 March the government plans to levy VAT [value-added tax] on food items that were previously exempted.

Addressing pensioners in Cape Town, Mr. Mandela said it was his organization's duty to protect the poor. He said he would use unprecedented protest action to stop the tax, even if it meant destroying the economy. He said the protest would have a greater effect than last November's nationwide 2-day strike.

Speaking at an ANC rally at Saldanha, Mr. Mandela told fishermen that he would lead a delegation to the state president, Mr. F. W. de Klerk, to discuss discrimination in the fishing industry. He said that while whites were being granted fishing quotas along South Africa's rich Atlantic coast, blacks were being refused new quotas, or having their quotas cut back.

### Mandela Speaks on ANC Government, White Jobs

*MB2103180392 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1744 GMT 21 Mar 92*

[Text] Cape Town March 21 SAPA—No civil servants should lose their pensions as a result of being forced to retire early when the ANC [African National Congress] took over, the organisation's president, Mr Nelson Mandela, said on Saturday [21 March].

He was speaking to about 18,000 people at a Sharpeville Day rally in the Khayeltisha rugby stadium. The rally was marred by repeated incidents of stonethrowing in the hot and restive crowd.

At one point a 13 year-old girl was rushed to a first aid point bleeding profusely from a gash on her forehead, which marshals said was caused by a stone.

Mr Mandela said there were certain standards the ANC would have to observe, even under very difficult conditions.

There was a fear, particularly among whites, that if the movement came to power, it would "throw everybody into the streets" and that people would lose their jobs.

"There is that fear. There is no such intention. The ANC will handle all problems in a responsible and humane manner."

The ANC would certainly democratise the security and civil services, as it could not tolerate a situation in which they were controlled by a minority that had been trained to defend apartheid.

"But there should be no injustice. Nobody should lose the privileges and advantages of the job he occupies. Nobody should lose his pension as a result of having to retire early."

ANC people were being trained overseas for senior positions, he said.

"We will have to retire people in the top structures of these services and bring in people who are committed to democracy. But we will do this in a humane manner."

Mr Mandela also repeated a statement he made yesterday threatening mass action if the government brought in VAT [value added tax] on hitherto exempt basic foods. The last time there had been a VAT protest the ANC had drawn three million people onto the streets.

"This time we will pull out even more than that, not for two days but for long enough for (the government) to listen to us."

Referring to the Sharpeville shootings in 1960, he said one of the reasons for the present violence was that the police and sadf had been taught to regard a demonstration against the "regime" as a declaration of war on white supremacy.

Marshals at today's rally battled to control the crowd, which grew increasingly restive as the rally, advertised for 1 PM, dragged on.

Mr Mandela only began speaking shortly before 5 PM.

At one point the technicians controlling the public address system pleaded with marshals not to hit members of the crowd for fear they would damage the equipment as they ran away.

Earlier in the day Mr Mandela spoke to educationists and churchmen in separate meetings in the city centre, then visited the spot in Langa where a number of people were killed by police on the same day as the Sharpeville shootings.

Mr Mandela did not attend a mid-morning memorial service for an ANC member killed in the taxi war, or take part in a planned cavalcade, and a senior ANC marshal told SAPA that he had was under doctor's orders to rest.

However the ANC's Western Cape Publicity Secretary Mr Whitey Jacobs said later that suggestions that the cancellations were because of ill health were unfounded.



Mr Mandela's early-morning meetings had simply gone on longer than expected, he said.

The ANC leader will make a tour of the Boland on Sunday.

#### **Mandela Addresses Paarl on Language, Negotiations**

*MB2203155792 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1531 GMT 22 Mar 92*

[Text] Paarl March 22 SAPA—ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela, on his first public visit to Paarl since his release from the Victor Verster Prison, on Sunday [22 March] told about 10,000 supporters at a rally his organization had no intention of scrapping or banning the use of Afrikaans.

What the ANC wanted to do, he said, was to change Afrikaans from a language of oppression into one of freedom and democracy.

He also said the ANC refused to negotiate with a government that was talking peace on the one hand while its agents were orchestrating and waging war.

He said busloads of ANC supporters due to attend the rally had been stopped and detained by the SAP [South African Police] before their arrival at the Dal Josaphat rugby stadium outside Paarl.

"If the National Party wants peace, it must be true to what it says. We don't want to deal with a political party that says one thing and its agents act differently.

"Partition is something we can't tolerate."

He also called on the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organisation to put aside their differences and join the ANC in both the Partiotic Front and at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa].

#### **Ciskei Plans Legal Action Against ANC Rallies**

*MB2003182692 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1801 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Text] East London Mar 20 SAPA—The Ciskei government will take legal action if the planned African National Congress [ANC] rallies throughout Ciskei take place, the chairman of the Council of State, Brig Oupa Gqozo, said on Friday evening.

A statement by Brig Gqozo said the Ciskei reiterated its position that the campaign "was uncalled for in view of the current negotiations at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]".

The Ciskei government was still prepared to meet the ANC, but this matter was still to be finalised between them.

The ANC's Border Region on Friday expressed disappointment at the decision by Ciskeian authorities not to amend Section 43 of the National Security Act and said

it hoped Ciskei police would, nevertheless, not interfere with rallies planned throughout the Ciskei and Border.

The ANC regional publicity secretary, Ms Marion Sparg, said the ANC would be holding rallies throughout Ciskei and Border on Saturday to commemorate Sharpeville Day.

Ms Sparg said in the light of a Ciskei statement on Thursday night that Section 43 would no longer be amended to allow free political activity, the ANC was left with little option but to intensify its campaign in the Ciskei.

"We sincerely hope that the statement (by an official) does not mean that the Ciskei is going to renege on its agreement in Pretoria to amend Section 43.

"In the meantime, however, if Section 43 is going to continue to be enforced as it is at present, we have no choice but to step up our campaign for peace and democracy in Ciskei.

"We cannot accept a situation where a person openly admits that Section 43 does not belong in a democratic society, but that Ciskei would nevertheless continue to enforce laws which deprive people of the basic rights to peaceful meetings and other forms of protest".

The Ciskei government said the proposed amendment of Section 43 still stood, but did not elaborate.

#### **'Tripartite Alliance' Supports Ciskei Campaign**

*MB2303063892 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2057 GMT 22 Mar 92*

[Text] East London March 22 SAPA—Votes for an interim government in Ciskei were cast by ANC [African National Congress] supporters at a Sharpeville Day rally in Mdantsane at the weekend.

A spokesman for the Border Region of the ANC-SACP [South African Communist Party]-COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] alliance, Mr Skenjana Roji, told people at the rally, held at Sisa Dukashe stadium, that 1992 was a year of "deep strategic significance" since the ANC leadership had called for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

The campaign to oust Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was part of a national campaign for an interim government and would continue as long as Section 43 and other obstacles were not removed, Mr Roji said.

A spokesman for the national office of the tripartite alliance, Mr Gwede Mantashe, said the ANC National Executive Committee fully supported the campaign for peace, democracy and free political activity in Ciskei.

He said Ciskei, KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana should be made "ungovernable" since their rulers were part of a national strategy to destabilise the democratic movement, and called on ANC members to "rededicate their energies for the liberation struggle".

The duty of the ANC in the Border was to corrode the base of "the enemy" and broaden the base of the democratic movement in the context of a national struggle against apartheid, Mr Mantashe said.

Mr Roji said Brig Gqozo was not fit to rule and the move to replace him with an interim government was to ensure he did not remain an obstacle to the whole negotiation process.

Mr Mantashe said the 68 per cent support President F W de Klerk had received in last week's referendum would make him "arrogant" since his proposals, including a free market system and the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] indicated that whites had veto power over changes taking place in the country.

Mr Roji said the demands for an interim government in Ciskei included an end to Section 43, suspension of the headman system, re-instatement of dismissed civil servants, removal of all SADF [South African Defense Force] and military intelligence personnel from Ciskei, free and fair access to radio Ciskei by all political parties and organisations, and an interim government at national level.

### **COSATU Warns Against Interim Government Delay**

*MB2103182692 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1737 GMT 21 Mar 92*

[Text] Johannesburg March 21 SAPA—COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] Secretary-General Mr Jay Naidoo on Saturday [21 March] threatened a mass general strike, the proportions of which South Africa had never experienced, if an interim government was not in place by July.

Speaking at a Sharpeville Day commemoration rally, he said it was time for State President F.W. de Klerk to leave Tuynhuis (the official residence in Cape Town) and for ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela to be installed there.

COSATU also demanded a budget for the worker and not one for the rich man and "bosses". The people demanded jobs, a living wage and no VAT [value added tax] on basic foods, he said.

Mr Naidoo said the ANC/COSATU/SACP [South African Communist Party] alliance was willing to negotiate, but if the government did not act in good faith, the people would be in the streets in their millions to ensure their removal from power.

In his address, ANC Secretary-General Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the book of apartheid would only be closed when a legitimate government was in power.

He assured the crowd that the ANC was scoring victory after victory at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] and that the ANC's demands had prevailed.

President de Klerk should realise that he has had his last all-white referendum or election—"He'll have a real election in December and then he'll know what a landslide is," Mr Ramaphosa said to laughter from the crowd.

He demanded that President de Klerk deal with the rightwing element in the security forces as "devastatingly" as he had dealt with them politically.

Another spokesman at the rally, SACP Secretary-General Mr Chris Hani said the ANC's military wing would not disband.

He said the army in a new South Africa would defend democracy and the SA [South African] Police Force would be sympathetic to the people.

The crowd at the gathering was generally well-behaved and no police presence could be seen apart from a patrol aircraft circling the township.

One roaming group of about 100 SACP were the only people to show weapons such as axes and spears openly.

Groups appearing in between the speeches were Sarafina, the COSATU Living Wage Choir and Blondie Makbene.

### **Transkei Leader on Establishment of Interim Rule**

*MB2103071892 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0111 GMT 21 Mar 92*

[Embargoed by SAPA until 1030 GMT on 21 March]

[Text] Uitenhage Mar 21 SAPA—Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] must test the the irrevocable commitment of the government to change by insisting on the speedy establishment of an interim government, Transkeian military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said on Saturday [21 March]. Gen Holomisa said that in the light of white South Africa's landslide victory for reform, a third round of Codesa could not be allowed. "The working groups charged with this task must ensure that when Codesa 2 meets it has completed its brief."

Speaking at an African National Congress [ANC] commemoration of Sharpeville Day in the Eastern Cape town of Uitenhage, he said he would like to see the immediate installation, after Codesa 2, of machinery to deal with the restoration of SA [South African] citizenship to homeland residents. "This machinery will also deal with the registration of voters and other electoral

processes and pave the way for the involvement of the international community in monitoring the process of change and elections."

If Codesa 2 decided to test the will of TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] residents or of the entire nation to reincorporate these into South Africa, such processes should take place during this administrative phase which should not exceed six months, said Gen Holomisa.

On the armed struggle, he said: "The ANC has not violated its undertakings in this regard. The existence of military wings of the liberation movements cannot be likened to (rightwing armies) since they were established to fight for civil liberties, political and economic empowerment."

On the violence in the country's black communities, he said people were being killed by unemployed black mercenaries from home and abroad, engaged by what he termed the forces of the system.

#### **Bophuthatswana President on Independence, Codesa**

*MB2003180692 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1643 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Text] Mmabatho March 20 SAPA—Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope says when his country became "independent", it never undertook to renounce it and seek reincorporation into South Africa [RSA], SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported on Friday.

Addressing a public meeting at Thaba Nchu, Mr Mangope said he found it hard to understand why the Republic of Botswana could be independent and his homeland not.

In recent talks with ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela, he made it clear the Batswana did not wish to be ruled by anybody.

Mr Mangope added that Bophuthatswana had refused to sign Codesa's [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] Declaration of Intent because it was not party to its drafting.

However, Bophuthatswana would continue to make an input at Codesa.

#### **PAC, BCM To Form 'Proper' Patriotic Front**

*MB2103103092 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1019 GMT 21 Mar 92*

[Text] Harare March 21 SAPA—The Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] has revealed plans were underway to form a patriotic front with the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), signalling the end of the alliance with the African National Congress [ANC], the national news agency ZIANA reports. "We have decided to have a proper patriotic front with BCM but until it is constituted, each party would continue with its programmes,"

PAC foreign affairs representative in Zimbabwe Raymond Fihla told student journalists at Harare Polytechnic on Friday [20 March].

He said the first Patriotic Front, which included the ANC, had broken up because the ANC was negotiating with Pretoria.

Mr Fihla said the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) was being used as a platform to expose agreements which had already been reached between the ANC and the South African Government. "We know that there has been a lot of secret meetings in Harare, long before Codesa and that is where all the agreements were reached. Right now only a platform is being created to expose them," he said.

PAC was not against negotiations but it is only demanding a fair deal for the people of South Africa, Mr Fihla said.

BCM representative Mbuzeli Dukumbana, told the students Codesa would not solve the economic needs of black South Africans.

#### **PAC Leader Says Codesa 'Entrenching' Apartheid**

*MB2103175292 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1640 GMT 21 Mar 92*

[Text] Johannesburg March 21 SAPA—In a scathing attack on Saturday [21 March], the Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] President Clarence Makwetu accused the Convention for a Democratic South Africa [Codesa] of entrenching grand apartheid.

Addressing a PAC rally at the Sharpeville stadium to commemorate the 32nd anniversary of Sharpeville massacre, Mr Makwetu said Codesa was intended to undermine the decisions of the Patriotic Front [PF].

"What is happening now in Codesa, is not what was agreed upon by the PF participants in October last year," he added.

Mr Makwetu said the PF had agreed that no single party should enter into any talks with the "regime", but the front should be used to confront the regime.

The emotionally charged rally was dominated by anti-Codesa's slogans. "One Codesa member one bullet. Down with Codesa down. Trample on Codesa trample".

Mr Makwetu said white South Africans were responsible for the ongoing violence in the townships.

"Mr de Klerk is not prepared to stop the violence because it is in his interest," Mr Makwetu added.

He said the PAC would in Transkei within two weeks to map out plans to stop violence. [sentence as received]



**PAC Official on Rejoining Codesa, Frontline Help***MB2303141792 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1358 GMT 23 Mar 92*

[Text] Johannesburg Mar 23 SAPA—The Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] hinted on Monday [23 March] it could re-enter constitutional talks in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa [Codesa], but said the overwhelming pro-reform referendum vote did not guarantee the success of the most important democracy talks.

"As to Codesa...those decisions we will make when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people," PAC Vice-President Dikgang Moseneke told SAPA after meeting Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga in Johannesburg.

"It takes more than the excitement and fanfare that might go along in the post-referendum era," he added.

"We are very very carefully evaluating the situation and listening to our neighbours and friends within the OAU and Frontline States and we shall be making decisions in accordance with what we think is in the interests of all the people in our country," Mr Moseneke added.

The PAC has threatened to conduct a campaign to undermine Codesa since pulling out of the plenary session on charges of collusion between the African National Congress and the De Klerk government.

Mr Moseneke called on the Frontline States to play a more active in the peace process in South Africa.

"The Frontline States should play a more visible and important role than what has been happening up to now," he said.

Mr Mwaanga said he and the PAC vice-president had exchanged views on a number of wide-ranging issues concerning developments in South Africa.

"We consider it very important that the (political) playing field should be as level as possible (that) the main players...participate in an equal, equitable manner," Mr Mwaanga said after his final meeting with political leaders in South Africa.

He met Foreign Minister Pik Botha, the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party, among other political leaders in the country. He was scheduled to leave for Zambia on Monday afternoon.

**HNP Calls for Referendum on New Constitution***MB2103132692 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1310 GMT 21 Mar 92*

[Text] Pretoria March 21 SAPA—The Herstigte Nasionale Party [Reformed National Party; HNP] Executive on Saturday [21 March] called on the state president to hold a referendum on the country's new constitution.

HNP Secretary Mr Henk van de Graaf said in a statement on behalf of the Executive that there could be no

question that the recent referendum had exempted President F.W. de Klerk from his promise to hold a referendum on the constitution.

"No constitution was examined in the March 17 referendum, and the whites of South Africa must accept that public honesty and ethical norms require that Mr de Klerk keeps his promise."

Mr van de Graaf said the Executive emphasised the necessity for the continuation of present action to motivate leadership on the right in order to face the next political challenge and also to launch an initiative through which "the false impression about the referendum result can be obliterated".

He added that the Executive also appealed to all right-wing organisations not to involve themselves in the peace negotiations between the National Party and the ANC [African National Congress]-SACP [South African Communist Party].

**AWB's Piet Rudolph Resigns From Organization***MB2303155692 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1524 GMT 23 Mar 92*

[By Madden Cole]

[Text] Johannesburg Mar 23 SAPA—Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement—AWB] Secretary-General Piet Rudolph on Monday [23 March] resigned his position, citing the undemocratic leadership of Eugene Terreblanche as a primary cause. Mr Terreblanche declined to comment, saying only: "I've handed Mr Rudolph's letter over to the AWB General Staff, and they will issue a statement on this matter on Monday or Tuesday".

In his letter of resignation, Mr Rudolph said he had problems with the organisation's leadership since the incidents in Ventersdorp, but had remained a member for the sake of unity and with the hope that he could be of service to the cause. He said it was unfortunate that with the expansion of the General Staff, the AWB had not benefitted from a broader executive perspective which should have provided Mr Terreblanche with a wider source of advice for decision-taking.

The way in which Mr Terreblanche had overruled the decisions of the General Staff and impulsively changed his own decisions had made the General Staff redundant. It had also made proper management of the AWB impossible.

Mr Rudolph claimed that Mr Terreblanche's actions during the referendum had cost the organisation many votes. He referred in particular to the AWB leader's "unilateral agreement" to a non-aggression pact with the Inkatha Freedom Party without consulting the General



Staff. "The subsequent publicity had created problems and had harmed our referendum campaign.

"It also gave the impression that he (Mr Terreblanche) treated his General Staff like shopwindow dummies."

Mr Rudolph described as the "last straw" the two occasions when Mr Terreblanche had undermined his authority by holding secret meetings with subordinates. He said the AWB's organisation in Pretoria and the Eastern Transvaal "lay in tatters" as a result of the erosion of the AWB's cause by former members. These people had been driven out of the AWB camp by Mr Terreblanche's actions, and had started their own movements. This should be seen as a motion of no-confidence in the AWB leadership.

Mr Rudolph said he had come to the conclusion that his loyalty to Mr Terreblanche had been misplaced as the AWB leader had been prepared to plot and scheme behind his back with people he did not even know properly. In so doing he had damaged the cause of the Afrikaner nation and that of the AWB, Mr Rudolph said.

#### **Conservative Party Caucus Develops Three Options**

MB2203121792 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES  
in English 22 Mar 92 p 2

[From the "News Round-up" column: "Conservatives To Choose Next Step"]

[Text] The Conservative Party [CP], recovering from its drubbing in the referendum, holds a crucial head committee meeting on Saturday [28 March] to decide whether to take part in Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa].

Three options have emerged after a lengthy caucus meeting this week:

Enter negotiations at Codesa and risk a breakaway by ultra-rightists;

Maintain the status quo and risk being politically sidelined;

Pull out of parliamentary politics and go "underground".

Neither Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP, nor any of his colleagues was prepared to discuss the future path of the party in the wake of the referendum.

Extremist AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] leader Eugene Terreblanche said, however, that if President De Klerk handed over power to the ANC [African National Congress] his organisation would take it back by force.

#### **South African Press Review for 23 Mar**

MB2303113192

[Editorial Report]

#### **SUNDAY TIMES**

New Battles Loom—"The only victory that matters in any conflict, said Van Clausewitz, is the last. Mr Nelson Mandela and Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions], striking swiftly while President De Klerk and his men were still patting themselves on the back for their cleverness in winning the referendum, have served notice that greater battles lie ahead," warns Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 21 March in its page 22 "Opinion". "As the ANC [African National Congress] and Cosatu call up their followers to do battle in the streets, and as Mr Mandela ruthlessly targets the economy as white South Africa's weak spot, it is important that Mr De Klerk should grasp clearly the nature of his mandate: he won not because of the performance of his government in office, but in spite of its failures; he won not because the voters place great trust in him, but because of the evil character of his opponents. His mandate is...to create a non-racial democracy in the face of all opposition." "Mr De Klerk can be in no doubt what the country thinks of his handling of crime, corruption, inflation, education, housing, or any other aspect of national life; the record is lamentable." "Moreover, these misgivings were revived, in the very flush of victory, by the indifferent Budget...." "The real objection to the Budget is that it reflects a failure of intellect and will. Mr Du Plessis has, for want of policy, sought to buy off both his bureaucratic foes and his political enemies, and insofar as the ANC and COSATU were targets of appeasement, he knows already this weekend that he has failed." The ANC, COSATU and the SACP [South African Communist Party] already know that "the Nationalists are vulnerable to pressure, that they have been reduced to desperation by their economic problems, and that they fear nothing so much as 'mass action'." "The government, in fact, is already acting like a lame duck.... If this defeatist mood carries over to Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], we shall have to depend on others, on the Democratic Party perhaps, or even on Inkatha, to secure those essential ingredients of democracy—such as a secure right to property—which the government has been too feeble to incorporate into the declaration of intent. In giving Mr De Klerk his mandate, the white electorate gave up its last chance to reject, in a later referendum, any deal he might strike. All the more reason to hold him to account, and to remind him, daily if necessary, that he has a mandate to secure a liberal democracy, not to surrender to socialism."

#### **THE CITIZEN**

ANC Not Interested in Powersharing—"It is just as well that the ANC, SACP and COSATU alliance gave notice on Budget Day that unprecedented levels of mass action, including a general strike, will be initiated if demands contained in the People's Budget were not met by June or July," declares Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 20 March in its page 6 editorial. "Just as well because the euphoria caused by the Yes landslide in the White referendum is misplaced." THE CITIZEN

believes "what Mr De Klerk wants is not what the ANC wants. The ANC still intends, if it can, to take over the government of the country on its terms. The ANC has its own agenda and timetable. It has its own constitutional ideas. It wants an interim government installed this year, with June as its deadline." "The bottom line for the ANC is not power sharing, but taking over the government."

#### THE STAR

'Luck' Plays Big Referendum Role—Herman Giliomee, a politics lecturer at the University of Cape Town, writes in "The Pattern of Politics" column on page 10 of Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 23 March that the 17 March referendum result is "close to being unique in the annals of politics." White South Africans "endorse a process that is most likely to reduce their political representatives in a year or two to a minority in an elected legislature. To make it even more exceptional whites have done this from a position of relative strength and in the absence of any sense of imminent defeat." In this referendum whites faced a choice "between negotiations and war with blacks. With the exception of the hard Right—which now clearly appears to have a ceiling of 30 percent—the electorate made the strategically sound decision." However, Giliomee further notes De Klerk's strokes of "luck" in the proceedings. His "greatest stroke of luck" was that the Conservative Party, CP, decided to participate in the referendum. Without the CP "the poll could have been as low as 30 percent. That would have landed us in almost as great a mess as a 'no', for the Right wing would have been undefeated and all the more unyielding." Giliomee says "we are lucky to have as our leaders on the one hand Nelson Mandela

with his courage and forbearance and, on the other, F.W. de Klerk with his courage, commitment—and considerable degree of luck."

#### SOWETAN

Government 'Insensitive' Taxing Basic Foodstuffs—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 23 March in a page 10 editorial says the "cloud of VAT [value-added tax] on basic foodstuffs is rushing across our skies and darkening them." "The anti-VAT lobby argued very eloquently for consultation before the restructuring of this country's economy. They said the introduction of VAT just when political negotiations were starting, was wrong." "Why was the Government so insensitive to the feelings of its negotiating partners? Why could it not use the channels it has already created to discuss the need for scrapping the temporary exemption?"

#### BUSINESS DAY

1992/93 Budget 'Appropriate'—"The 1992/93 Budget is an appropriate, if not exciting, holding operation for transition to the new South Africa," begins Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 19 March in a page 12 editorial. "Budget '92 does not stimulate the economy. It won't be great for growth, at least in the short term. It offers negligible tax concessions and imposes new burdens. It means most South Africans face a tough year ahead. Yet there can be little doubt that Finance Minister Barend du Plessis is correct in accepting the realities of recession, high inflation, limited means and rising expectations for what they are: fundamental problems that can only be alleviated through the consensus of the majority on soundly based economic growth."

## Angola

### Government, FLEC Discuss Future of Cabinda

MB2203202892 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Text] The government and the Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave, FLEC, could soon reach consensus on the Cabinda issue. FLEC official Jose Mdel told the ANGOLAN PRESS AGENCY that efforts are currently being made so that consensus on the future of Cabinda could soon be reached. The two parties will discuss the basis of the consensus. He says that the government will define and elaborate on the concept of autonomy, whereas FLEC will clarify the question of independence.

Further details were not revealed, but Mr Mdel said that the only difficulty is the fact that FLEC lacks a dynamic interlocutor, and that there are clear divisions within FLEC, with factions defending completely different stances.

FLEC cadres met in Lisbon in October 1991, but failed to establish any solid structure due to the absence of (Rui Frank) and (Medita Tiago) from the meeting. The former has neither rejected the results of the meeting nor the initiative, but feels that there should be a better arrangement for Cabinda. The latter was opposed to the meeting and its outcome.

It is due to those differences that FLEC claims to be interested in the services of N'zau Puna and Tony da Costa Fernandes. In an interview with ANGOP, Mr Mdel, one of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola's oldest dissidents, said that talks are underway with N'zau Puna and Tony Fernandes aimed at reaching a definitive position on the integration of the two dissidents into FLEC.

Mr Mdel has said he does not believe N'zau Puna and Tony da Costa Fernandes will ever join the ranks of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. Puna and Fernandes will give a news conference in Paris on 24 March.

### Oil Minister Details Current Oil Production

MB2203082492 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Excerpt] Angola is currently producing 500,000 barrels of oil per day, 400 more than the figure obtained during the first years of independence. This was revealed by Angolan Petroleum Minister Joao Lamboite at the end of the annual conference of the international oil association [words indistinct] yesterday. Minister Joao Lamboite also said [words indistinct] would reach 600,000 barrels per day in 1995. [passage indistinct]

### UNITA Vice President on Chingunji, Wilson

MB2003190792 London BBC World Service in English  
1705 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Report on interview with Jeremias Chitunda, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola vice president, by Robin White in Jamba; date not given; from the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The opposition UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement in Angola is going through some embarrassment at the moment. Two senior officials have defected, and old rumors have resurfaced that two other top UNITA men, Wilson dos Santos and Tito Chingunji, who fell out with UNITA President Jonas Savimbi, have been killed. Well, Mr. Savimbi has now talked on the radio about the defectors, dismissing them as traitors, but did not mention the alleged killings. On the line to UNITA headquarters at Jamba, Robin White asked UNITA Vice President Jeremias Chitunda, if Tito Chingunji was dead.

[Begin recording] [Chitunda] The problem is.... [Chitunda changes thought] We have now a commission of inquiry undertaking its work. Until this work is finished, we are not in the position to comment on this. So, I cannot say yes or no.

[White] Surely, you must know yourself whether he is dead or alive?

[Chitunda] But I am not going to comment on it, neither way, until the commission has finished its work.

[White] Who is on this commission?

[Chitunda] It is a seven-man commission, and I am chairing the commission.

[White] I say, when will it finish its work?

[Chitunda] I don't know yet, maybe a few more weeks.

[White] Are we talking of just a few more weeks?

[Chitunda] Yes.

[White] And how long have you so far been working on this?

[Chitunda] We have been working on it for a few days only.

[White] Are these stories a bit embarrassing for you, coming out? All these allegations, are they a bit embarrassing to you?

[Chitunda] It is absolutely nothing embarrassing. [sentence as heard] We keep cool, and we are very happy to try to do our utmost to flush the whole thing out, to flush the truth out. More than that is the fact that President Savimbi has put it in his message yesterday. War is extremely cruel. No one can humanize the war, not even the Geneva Convention can help humanize the war.

Angola has become a vast cemetery because of what has happened in the 17- year war.

[White] It sounds to me that you are kind of pleading guilty as to what might have happened in the past but saying that everybody should turn over a new leaf. Is that right?

[Chitunda] We are not at all pleading guilty. It was simply restating a fact: War is extremely cruel, and these are largely peripheral issues. I will call them peripheral issues. Even the bloody nature of what has happened here in our country.

[White] It is not peripheral to people's families if they have been killed?

[Chitunda] They are peripheral in that we are talking about two or three families, when we have indeed thousands and thousands of those who have perished; thousands and thousands of families in mourning; thousands, thousands of families [words indistinct] waiting eagerly to a better tomorrow. [end recording]

#### **UNITA's Huila Province Offices Burned Down**

*MB2103180992 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 21 Mar 92*

[Report by Luanda correspondent Anita Coulson]

[Text] Tempers got out of control in Angola's southern city of Lubango [Huila Province] yesterday, resulting in the opposition grouping UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] offices being razed to the ground. The trouble (?dates) from reports that four members of the Air Force stationed in Lubango were killed last weekend by people alleged to be UNITA members. Colleagues of the four men decided to avenge their lives and attacked UNITA's regional headquarters. From the capital, Luanda, Anita Coulson telexed this report.

Members of the Angolan Air Force stationed in the southern city of Lubango yesterday burned down the regional offices of the main opposition group, UNITA, in retaliation for the murder of four of their colleagues.

According to the southern region commander, Major General Matias Zumbi, emotions among the air men went out of control after UNITA failed to hand over to the authorities several of the alleged perpetrators.

Four air men were killed last Sunday by 12 people said to be members or supporters of UNITA. They buried two officers alive, burned a third, and shot dead a fourth.

UNITA's regional delegate Mr. Daniel Chitende is one of those wanted in connection with the murders. Military sources in Luanda say they fear an outbreak of violence between supporters of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government and UNITA in the coming days.

Tension in the city is said to be running very high and more than 5,000 people turned out yesterday to accompany the funeral cortege of the air men who were buried 5 km outside the city.

Meanwhile, a march is being held in Luanda this afternoon in defense of human rights and in particular to call for an explanation of the fate of two UNITA prisoners of conscience: Tito Chingunji and Wilson dos Santos. Tito Chingunji's nephew Dino has arrived in the (?town) to lead the march.

#### **Situation 'Tense'**

*MB2103203292 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 21 Mar 92*

[Text] The situation is tense in Lubango, Huila Province, where demonstrating militants and sympathizers of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, today condemned the burning down of three of their offices in the province.

Soldiers belonging to the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola and civilians burned the offices yesterday to avenge the murder of four Air Force officers accused by UNITA of having killed one of its militants.

A total of 5,000 people attended the funeral ceremony of the four soldiers yesterday, while state companies halted work to protest the murders.

The two UNITA members who took part in the crime have already been detained by Huila police.

#### **Commentary Views Plot Against UNITA's Savimbi**

*MB2203070092 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 22 Mar 92*

[Commentary: "Behind the Scenes of the Angolan Crisis"]

[Text] Miguel N'zau Puna, the former secretary general and, more recently, interior minister of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, disappeared from Luanda with his wife, two daughters, a young woman, and a Cabinda collaborator on 29 February. Puna, one of Cabinda's barons, had just returned to Luanda from a two-week visit to that enclave. He had been told by the Cabinda governor that 95 percent of the Cabindans wanted independence immediately, adding that a crowd attending a political rally had rejected both the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, MPLA, and UNITA. When the people in the crowd were asked how they thought they would achieve their aims, they shouted out as one, repeatedly: You are our leader!

On 1 March, Toni da Costa Fernandes, another Cabindan who cofounded UNITA with Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi and who had lately been the UNITA foreign affairs minister, failed to attend a lunch he was to have



with a colleague in London. He disappeared, to join (Ndele), a third Cabindan who had served as prime minister in the UNITA transitional government in 1975. Fernandes and (Ndele) have been traveling between Algarve and Switzerland since 3 March. (Ndele) has houses in Switzerland. They gave interviews to chosen newsmen in which they stated their commitment to the cause of Cabinda's independence.

The UNITA Political Commission issued a brief communique on 6 March explaining that N'zau Puna and Fernandes had left UNITA to dedicate themselves to Cabinda's nationalist cause. Fernandes' former wife, now living in Portugal, said she feared for her husband's life. Western information organs believe that those developments were linked to an Angolan Government plot to assassinate UNITA President Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi in Luanda on 8 March. The assassination plan was devised by the People's Republic of Angola's, RPA, security services, and approved at the highest level by the Luanda government. That plan was uncovered by a Western intelligence service in mid-February. Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi was informed about it at the beginning of the last week of February. That week, a Western government warned Eduardo dos Santos to abandon that plan, or prepare to suffer powerful retaliation from the UNITA army in the event of President Dr. Savimbi's death.

A subsequent inspection of Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi's residence in Luanda's Miramar ward led to the discovery of three sophisticated microphones: One in the lounge, near Dr. Savimbi's armchair; another in Dr. Savimbi's office; and a third in the communications room. Intelligence sources believe that the RPA Government has been listening to all conversations and important communications taking place in that Miramar house. That would have meant that the RPA Government knew about the feelings of the UNITA leadership's Cabindan members concerning developments in the Cabinda enclave, particularly from the time Luanda placed 15,000 soldiers there last November, and refused to include the Cabinda issue in the agenda of the Joint Political and Military Commission, CCPM, which is supposed to have political control over the peace process until elections are held.

It is known that N'zau Puna and Fernandes strongly favored UNITA's support for the independence of Cabindan nationalists, and were against the RPA Government's attempts to crush separatist uprisings. Others in the UNITA leadership believed that the Cabinda issue should be approached more cautiously. They recognized that UNITA's ability to act was inhibited by the wider problem of securing a safe transition to general elections. When N'zau Puna went to Cabinda on behalf of UNITA in the second half of February, he met with strong hostility (?against both) the RPA Government and UNITA. A common complaint was that only 20 percent of oil profits were used for the benefit of the Cabinda enclave, and that the other 80 percent were helping the rest of Angola.

At a rally at the local stadium, Puna heard shouts and oral attacks against both parties. It was known that he personally supported Cabinda's independence. When he asked the people how Cabinda's independence could be achieved without a leader who was capable of uniting the various divided nationalist factions, a group in the middle of the crowd started shouting: You are our leader!

It took only minutes for that cry to spread like wildfire among the crowd. Intelligence sources believe that incident was created by RPA Government agents placed in the middle of the crowd. N'zau Puna's desertion was seen as a response to his conviction—heightened by that experience at the rally—that he might be heir to Jose Manuel Puna, his ancestor, and the first baron of Cabinda whose signature features first on the list of those who signed the Simulambuco Accord with the king of Portugal in the nineteenth century.

The link between those desertions and the plot to murder Dr. Jonas Savimbi can be explained by the RPA Government's need to establish a cover story [preceding two words in English] to divert from itself any suspicions arising from the assassination of the UNITA leader. Had Dr. Savimbi been killed in Luanda, the RPA would naturally be the first and most obvious suspect.

If Savimbi's death could, however, be linked to news of serious internal divisions, dissidence, retaliations, massacres in Jamba, detentions of important army commanders, and rumors of other planned desertions from UNITA ranks, then an alternative, and perfectly plausible, explanation could be worked out.

Intelligence sources say that is precisely what happened. The first step was the desertion of Abel Cogi, a former captain of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FALA, in Luanda a few weeks ago. UNITA had withdrawn him from the area where he acted as party organizer after confirmed reports that he had stolen 200,000 kwanzas from civilians. He was then drafted by the MPLA. After two weeks in the hands of the MPLA, he attended a news conference during which he launched a scathing attack on UNITA. This was surprising, because he was only a young FALA officer in the relatively isolated Chokwe area. The forecasts were, however, that though he was only small fry, much more important figures were likely to follow in his footsteps and desert soon. RPA Government officials then linked Captain Cogi's desertion with the departure of N'zau Puna and Toni Fernandes, the two Cabindans.

How is it that an obscure FALA captain stationed somewhere on the other side of the country could have known their plans? If those desertions were part of a planned operation by the Angolan security services, however, Cogi's hosts would have known and would surely have informed him about it.

Shortly after the N'zau Puna's disappearance, the MPLA's media machine began reporting the arrests of a number of senior UNITA officials, including Generals

Chilingutila, Numa, Pilartes, Lameira, Ngongo, and Wenda. It came up with another story concerning a Jamba massacre where 50 people supposedly were killed during an attempt to occupy the building of the UNITA-controlled Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel, Vorgan. In the first week of March, the MPLA media machinery also spread about that UNITA Vice President Engineer Jeremias Chitunda had also been detained. All six officers who had allegedly been arrested, have since then asked for media time on state radio and television to deny those reports.

In order to reject the story about the massacre, UNITA also flew an aircraft full of newsmen to Jamba. Vorgan never left the air at any time during the last month. Throughout this week, Vice President Chitunda has had meetings with Angolans and foreigners visiting Jamba. Obviously, Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi was not assassinated on 8 March. Apparently following the advice of the same Western service which warned him about the plot, he was not in Luanda at the time.

Western governments are taking very seriously these apparent links among the assassination plot, the desertions of the Cabindans, and the international disinformation campaign. It is known that the MPLA-Labor Party [PT] leaders are very afraid of a populist wave caused by Dr. Savimbi's charismatic style and are afraid they will lose their posts if the September elections go ahead as planned.

Fear reigns in Luanda. There is fear of retaliation for acts of corruption, poor economic management, and repression of the opposition. It is well known that money and diamonds are flooding out of the country. Many within the MPLA-PT believe that either UNITA must be weakened, or a plausible excuse must be found to delay elections, thereby allowing the inevitable to be avoided.

## Mozambique

### Council Approves 1992 Economic, Social Plan

MB2203082392 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] The Council of Ministers meeting in its third session in Maputo today, examined and approved the government's Economic and Social Plan for 1992. During the session, the Council of Ministers also assessed [words indistinct] tripartite commission for the voluntary repatriation of Mozambican refugees in Malawi, held in Maputo last month.

### Ministry Approves Unamo Party Registration

MB2003202592 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network  
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] The Justice Ministry has just approved the Mozambican National Union's [Unamo] application to be registered as a legal political party in Mozambique.

According to the law, Unamo is now free to register itself at the Central Registration Office, and after the publication in the REPUBLIC GAZETTE it will be the second legal party in the country. Unamo submitted its registration application to the Justice Ministry on 31 December last year.

The Mozambique Liberation Front in power over the past 15 years is the first political party legalized in the country.

### 'Escalating' War Forces Moamba Residents To Flee

MB2103122892 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network  
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] The escalating war has forced 75 percent of Moamba residents in Maputo Province to move to safer places. Out of a total of 84,000 inhabitants by the end of 1984, Moamba District now has only some 20,000 residents.

### Renamo President Cited on Protocol, Cease-Fire

MB2103085192 (Clandestine) Voz da Renamo  
in Portuguese 0500 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] A spokesman for the Office of the President says that Afonso Dhlakama, president of the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], believes that the signing of the Protocol No. 3 on the fundamental principles of the Electoral Law and political aspects like freedom of the press, movement, and residence within the country and the return of refugees and their social reintegration represent a political victory for Renamo's struggle in Mozambique. Moreover, the signing of that protocol means that Renamo has been waging a legitimate struggle through which the people have succeeded in gradually establishing democracy at home. The signing of Protocol No. 3 has served to show the facts to many countries which until recently only believed in the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] regime.

In Mozambique some three months ago, several emerging political parties condemned Renamo, accusing it of delaying the negotiating process. They even demanded that Renamo should cease fire unconditionally, and that President Dhlakama should follow Jonas Savimbi's example.

Renamo does not wish to condemn the statements made by those parties because their leaders do not actually know what they want. Though they only speak of democracy, we are now certain that they have seen why Renamo has been demanding genuine negotiations. What we mean is that the authentic political parties are pleased with the political aspects of Protocol No. 3 recently signed in Rome.

President Dhlakama regrets that there are people in Mozambique who have demanded the signing of a cease-fire before negotiations are finalized. The Renamo

president is aware that the war is an unfortunate situation, and that Mozambique men and women are tired of it. Yet, he believes that we must negotiate constitutional and military matters before we sign a general political accord which will culminate in a cease-fire. This can be accomplished in April provided that the Frelimo government shows flexibility. What we mean is that in April we will discuss constitutional, military matters, and finally the cease-fire. The war will then end.

Regarding the Constitution, Renamo is not asking Frelimo to draft new constitution in Rome. Whereas the Constitution does not guarantee democracy, it is necessary that Renamo and Frelimo should agree on a number of articles in the current Constitution.

It should be pointed that Renamo and Frelimo signed Protocol No. 1 whereby both sides agreed, among other things, that after the signing of the general political accord we would abandon the armed struggle and would concentrate on political activities while adhering to the state and its institutions. For its part, the government agreed not to implement laws or introduce measures which would violate the protocols signed in Rome.

In order to prevent problems once a cease-fire is established, Renamo will tackle several articles of the current Frelimo Constitution, which, if applied, could prevent the full implementation of the protocols signed in Rome. Accordingly, Frelimo should agree to suspend all articles which do not comply with what has been established in the protocols. Moreover, one must agree that a priority of a democratically elected assembly would be the review and ratification the current Constitution because the latter is illegitimate. Renamo's demand is aimed at securing internal guarantees.

It is known that Frelimo refuses to discuss its Constitution. We, however, believe that it is indispensable that Frelimo changes its stance. We cannot sign documents in Rome which will not be implemented once a cease-fire is declared merely because Frelimo's Constitution does not allow it. President Dhlakama does not see why Frelimo refuses to discuss constitutional matters if it claims that there is democracy in Mozambique.

President Chissano sees democracy and Marxism as one and the same thing. The current Constitution upholds Frelimo's interests as the sole party in Mozambique. That Constitution cannot work under a multiparty system.

President Dhlakama urges the Mozambican people to pressure President Chissano and his party so that the latter instruct the government delegation to the next round of Rome talks to sign an accord on constitutional matters. Thereafter, the two delegations would discuss military matters and then a cease-fire. All this can be accomplished in April.

President Chissano and his Frelimo Party should be held responsible for any failure to sign a cease-fire accord between April and May. Renamo will not be responsible

because we stand for peace, democracy, freedom, justice, and human rights guarantees.

### Renamo Says Review of Constitution 'Irreversible'

MB2203164592 (Clandestine) Voz da Renamo  
in Portuguese 1500 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Communique issued by the Office of the President; date, place not given—read by announcer]

[Text] In a gesture of goodwill designed to see progress at the Rome talks, the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] made yet another concession to the government delegation by freezing discussions on constitutional matters, and deciding to deal with the issue after the signing of Protocol No. 3 on the Electoral Law.

After 16 years of the Marxist system that the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] Party has, through its so-called Constitution, imposed on the Mozambican people by the force of arms, we feel that time has come to analyze certain (articles of that Constitution) in order to pave the way for the establishment of a truly multiparty democratic system in Mozambique. It is extremely important that Frelimo accepts this premise in view of the aspirations of the people. Moreover, nobody can act against the will of the people, particularly when the upholding of the supreme interests of the Mozambican people is at stake, and for which Renamo has been fighting day and night.

Multiparty democracy has become a worldwide credo. Renamo has shared the ideals of democracy since 1976. Renamo has, through peaceful means, impressed on the Frelimo government the need to establish a democratic system in the country in order to ensure the social well-being of the Mozambican people. Likewise, we have always called on Frelimo to abandon Marxism because the latter is an obsolete and negative system. Yet, Frelimo has always reacted with violence.

A government guided by common sense and which formally states its democratic standpoint, would be disregarding fundamental rights [words indistinct] on the need to adapt Frelimo's constitution to democratic principles. That constitution has been drafted under a one-party system guided by Marxist principles, and while some reference is made to privatization, this was designed to deceive the international community as a means of securing additional support for the continuation of the war in Mozambique.

Whereas Frelimo says it is committed to a multiparty democratic system in the country, it should agree to suspend certain articles of its Constitution from the time a cease-fire is signed until elections are held. Those articles are contrary to the text of the protocols that have been signed. The assembly to be elected would be responsible for reviewing and ratifying the current Constitution.



A government that disregards such a need automatically denies its own identity, while exposing itself to the most ridiculous extremes. Moreover, such a government would shamelessly betray its fatherland [words indistinct] the freedoms of a people.

Frelimo believes that its constitution is sacred. This is an absurd because that constitution denies democracy to the Mozambican people.

Except for the monarchs, most leaders throughout the world are in power because they have been democratically elected by their peoples in free elections. In Mozambique, Frelimo leaders have never been elected, though it has been ruling the country by means of Marxist dictatorship. Nevertheless, (?a democratic system) will be established in the country, regardless of the consequences that are likely to be faced by some of the Frelimo chieftains.

The demand to suspend the articles of the aforementioned constitution is irreversible within the framework of the Rome talks. It should be pointed out that like Renamo's, the government delegation must submit their proposals which will form the basis of a single document to be drafted by the mediators. Such a document will be discussed during the plenary sessions. This is necessary because the government has said on several occasions that it could make no proposals unless the Assembly of the Republic in Maputo had decided otherwise. The government delegation has also rejected time and again the proposals made by the mediators and Renamo.

Such a situation has created difficulties to the mediators in drafting documents for the plenary sessions, and delayed further progress at the talks. It was in view of that situation that the signing of Protocol No. 3 on principles of the Electoral Law took such a long time.

We believe that the attitude of the government delegation fits within the framework of delaying tactics that Frelimo has been using against Renamo.

### Zimbabwe

#### ZUM Leader on Passing of Land Acquisition Bill

MB2003162892 London BBC World Service in English  
1830 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Report on interview with Edgar Tekere, chairman of the Zimbabwe Unity Movement, ZUM, by William Mwanandea; date, place not given; from the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] After much haggling, heated debate, and strong resistance from white commercial farmers, Zimbabwe's land bill was passed by the country's parliament today. The Land Acquisition Bill allows President Mugabe's government to acquire millions of acres from white farmers. The government, under some pressure, did make some changes to the bill, allowing appeals on the price offered. But one man who has in the past criticized

the bill, perhaps surprisingly, is Edgar Tekere, leader of the opposition ZUM [Zimbabwe Unity Movement] party. He, in the past, had a serious [word indistinct] with a white farm manager. On the line, William Mwanandea asked Mr. Tekere what he didn't like about the land bill.

[Begin recording] [Tekere] We have always stated very clearly.... [Tekere changes thought] It all started with the 11th Amendment of the Constitution and when the Chief Justice here, Gubbie, said that the intention would be in violation of our Constitution, the provisions for the bill of rights; and I made an intervention on behalf of my party, and I said that no, we cannot allow anything that is in violation of the bill of rights. But this thing has gone on. At a later stage, I described it as a very racist intention, because then the bill was not yet drafted, and I said I was going to wait and see the details.

[Mwanandea] Now Mr. Tekere, you previously had problems with white farmers. Why are you supporting them now?

[Tekere] I am not supporting white farmers. I am not a racist. You said I have been accusing the ruling party of being racist in their approaches, and you are saying that I have been against white farmers. Where do you get that one from?

[Mwanandea] Now, some years ago you had a problem with a particular white farmer, and there [were] some allegations made against you. Why are you supporting the white farmers now?

[Tekere] Allegations against a white farmer? Now, we are talking racially. We are talking racially; and it wasn't a white farmer. He is a white military man, commander of a special Rhodesian unit of the military. The fact that he was on a farm, it wasn't his farm at all. It was a farm which had just been bought by an African and he was managing a military installation there of the Rhodesian Army.

[Mwanandea] So, you had never had problems with the white farmers then in Zimbabwe?

[Tekere] No, not at all. Mugabe is very, very ignorant of the thinking of the white farmers, if you want to call them white farmers, commercial farmers, black and white. He is very ignorant of the thinking of the chiefs. For instance, when he said the chiefs are up in arms. They don't want us to buy back this land because they are saying if you are having to buy back the land from the whites, then we also better be compensated because it is the whites who took away the land from us.

[Mwanandea] Now that the bill has been passed, what is your party going to do about it?

[Tekere] There is going to have to be an effort to undo the damage already done. [end recording]

### Farmers 'Far From Satisfied' Over Land Bill

MB2003174792 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1630 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Harare March 20 SAPA—Zimbabwe's Commercial Farmers Union [CFU] was far from satisfied that amendments introduced to controversial land legislation in the country's parliament this week offered any significant protection from abuse of farmers' rights to property ownership.

Mr David Hasluck, director of the CFU which represents the country's 4,600 commercial farmers, most of them whites, told SAPA on Friday the land acquisition legislation made it clear the government would not consider a market price for nationalised land to be a fair price.

The legislation is the legal instrument the government plans to use to confiscate 5.5 million hectares of the 10 million owned by commercial farmers.

Only after massive pressure from Western countries did the government back down this week to demands that it respect the property rights of what is regarded the most important sector of the economy. Amendments to the bill were introduced.

Lands Minister Witness Mangwende has since described the bill as "fair" in that the amendments would now ensure farmers "fair" compensation for confiscated land.

It would also allow them the right to take the government to court over unfair compensation—rights specifically excluded in the original bill.

Mr Hasluck said although one amendment removed the clause debarring the right to petition the court on the grounds of unfair compensation, other parts of the bill "prescribe very carefully what the scope of the courts is".

"There are several opinions," he added. "That we have recourse to the courts on what is fair, while others say it has been very narrow defined.

"It is extraordinary that we can have two meanings of what is fair in the same legislation. One determined by the minister and another by the courts. Are they the same?—I fear not," he said.

CFU President Alan Burl on Thursday night addressed a private dinner of several hundred farmers, and said the CFU and its members had to accept the fact that the bill had been passed.

The farmers would have to work to ensure it was implemented correctly, he said, according to sources who attended.

They said Mr Burl also underlined previous assurances by Mr Mangwende that the legislation would be effected so as not to disrupt production.

The resettlement of peasant farmers on former white-owned land would be carried out with caution to ensure the failure of the government's first resettlement exercise was not repeated.

Mr Mangwende also spoke at the dinner, and warmly applauded Mr Burl's "positive" approach, the sources said.

### Say Act To 'Cripple' Agriculture

MB2303095092 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network  
in English 0500 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Text] Zimbabwean farmers are still fighting the controversial Land Bill passed last week. Five and a half million hectares have been earmarked for redistribution. Farmers and local economists say the new act will cripple agriculture in drought stricken Zimbabwe, turning it from an exporter of food to an importer. However, President Robert Mugabe says the government had no choice.

[Begin recording] [Mugabe] The farmers must realize that if we do not proceed the people are going to proceed on their own and seize the land.

[Unidentified farmer] If agriculture collapses in Zimbabwe don't even bother to come and invest here, because what are you going to invest for? There will be nothing, only starving people. [end recording]

## Burkina Faso

### Cabinet Meets, Amends Electoral Code 18 Mar

AB2103142092 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Excerpt] The Cabinet met in an ordinary session today under the chairmanship of the head of state. Rene Kologo has more details:

[Kologo] Under the chairmanship of the president of Burkina Faso, the Cabinet closely examined various reports on the preparations for the upcoming forum. Amendments made to the electoral code are as follows:

1. In order to give the provinces better representation at the National Assembly and to enable parliamentarians to better serve their constituents, the Cabinet decided to raise the number of parliamentarians from 77 to 107 by adding one additional assemblyman to each province.
2. In order to have better voter participation in future elections, the Cabinet decided to increase the number of voting booths. It was also decided that the voting booths should be closer to the voters.
3. The deadline for submitting candidate lists has been extended from 45 to 50 days to take into account the constraints in constituting the necessary documents.
4. The Cabinet also agreed to the principle of an alliance between parties, but due to technical and material difficulties, that alliance will always be represented under the banner of one of the parties.
5. The amount of deposit for party members seeking a seat in Parliament is reduced to 50,000 CFA francs. [passage omitted]

### Ministry Sets Deadline for Candidate Lists

AB2103102592 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Communique issued by the Ministry of Territorial Administration—date, place not given]

[Text] In view of the upcoming legislative elections slated for 24 May, the minister of Territorial Administration hereby informs legally registered organizations and political parties that in conformity with the regulations, the deadline for presenting candidate lists at the ministry is midnight, 4 April.

## Ghana

### Opposition Against Timetable for Transition

AB2103145092 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 20 Mar 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The opposition groups in Ghana have now got together to present a united reaction to the head of state Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings' timetable for a return to constitutional rule. The timetable allows for a referendum on a new constitution on 28 April to be followed by separate legislative and presidential elections at the end of the year. Already the opposition has been making skeptical noises. Well now, the umbrella Coordinating Committee of Democratic Forces of Ghana [CCDF] organization has been meeting and held a press conference to present their response.

Ben Ephson was there and he telexed this report from Accra:

[Begin studio announcer recording] The press conference was addressed by the convener of the CCDF, Professor Adu-Boahen. He described Rawlings' 5 March speeches as speech of dates and said that it sent out signals that are completely unacceptable and even dangerous. He condemned as ridiculous and self-serving, the idea of putting a complex and elaborate document such as the Constitution of a whole country to a yes or no vote. He said the fact that such constitutional referendums have taken place in Eastern Europe and Africa does not make them proper and legitimate. Just as the existence of a one party or a military dictatorship in all those countries a year or two ago, did not make such political systems democratic or legitimate. Prof. Adu-Boahen said that even if the Consultative Assembly were to present its report on 31 March, the Provisional National Defense Council [PNDC] might still make changes to the document before its publication.

In such circumstances, Ghanaians will have no more than two weeks to read, study and discuss the draft constitution before the referendum on 28 April. He described as unnecessary and expensive, the procedure of holding a presidential and parliamentary election on two different days within a period one month. He said it was the opinion of the opposition groups that 5 March speech did not address the fundamental question of who would manage the transition to the Fourth Republic. The CCDF statement was signed by representatives of 11 opposition groups. It made eight demands: one being that the PNDC government should step down and a national transitional government be established to manage the transition to the Fourth Republic. They called for the cancellation of the referendum and the immediate lifting of the ban on party political activities.

The statement also demanded the unconditional release of all political prisoners, unconditional amnesty for all political exiles, and the repeal of all repressive laws.

Meanwhile, it emerged today that a peaceful demonstration planned by one of the opposition groups for yesterday, had been postponed pending the reaction of the government to today's press conference. [end recording]



## Guinea

### Interior Minister, Party Representatives Meet

AB2303121592 Conakry Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique de Guinee in French 2200 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Alseny Rene Gomez, minister of interior and security, held his first meeting with representatives of political parties registered at the Ministry of Interior and Security at the Palais du Peuple this morning. Here, once again, are highlights of the meeting by our reporters, Aboubacar Bah and Abdel Djibril Diallo, who were also at the meeting:

[Bah] First, let us recall that the representatives of the 22 political parties registered at the Ministry of Interior and Security were actually present, including (eight) party leaders. The purpose of the meeting was, first, to establish dialogue between the government and the political parties but also to point out the shortcomings in the parties' files so that steps could be taken to avoid any delay in their recognition. Among the shortcomings noted by the examining commission were discrepancy between a number of statutes submitted and the fundamental texts, mainly the Constitution, and the Political Parties' Charter. Others are nonrespect of the electoral code, the regional nonrepresentativeness of some founding members of political parties, and the lack of documents in the individual files of many members. These documents are police records and mainly other (?certificates).

The minister, however, remained confident. He said: All the obstacles will be overcome through everyone's goodwill. The political parties, which have fulfilled the laid down conditions, will actually be recognized on 3 April.

[Diallo] I am convinced that the political parties will be legalized on 3 April because most of them have already responded positively to the observations made by the commission, he said. The political party representatives who welcomed the meeting, expressed concern, however, over certain interpretations of Article 13 of the Political Parties' Charter. They considered the concept of native and place of residence as the same. They also deplored the inefficiency of a part of the Guinean administration. Let us also mention that some representatives would like political parties which have submitted their statutes, to be authorized to embark on political activities pending their recognition. On this question, the minister of interior and security was clear: Only the recognized parties can do so. All the concerns of the other political parties will be examined by the appropriate authorities, he added.

In conclusion, Alseny Rene Gomez stressed the spirit of tolerance, dialogue, and respect for the law that should govern relations among all our institutions. This message was welcomed by the political parties' representatives who pledged their cooperation.

### Five More Political Parties Registered

AB2103103092 Conakry Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique de Guinee in French 0645 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] The list of political parties is growing longer. We now have 20 parties. Five more have been registered. They are: the National Alliance for Progress, ANP, led by (Moussa Sangare), a teacher; the National Party for Democracy and Development, PNDD, led by (Ibre Mas-sousona), a bank employee; the Liberal Democratic Party, PLD, led by (Mohamediane Sane), a civil administrator; the Guinean Party for Unity and Development, PGUD, led by Ousmane Keita; and finally, the National Unity for Democracy, UND, led by (Djigui Soko Kamara).

## Ivory Coast

### Further on Telecommunications Minister's Dismissal

AB2203124692 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French 21-22 Mar 92 p 3

[Excerpt] Mr. Kouassi Akon has indeed been dismissed from office. Contrary to some biased innuendo that he had supposedly resigned, it was the president of the Republic, who, upon the prime minister's recommendation, signed a decree terminating the appointment of Mr. Yao Nicolas Kouassi Akon as minister of posts and telecommunications.

In the statement published in our 18 March issue, the government's communique was very clear, leaving no room for any ambiguity: Minister Nicolas Yao Kouassi Akon has been dismissed. Mr. Yed Essaie Angoran, the minister of mines and energy, is, effective the same day, responsible for the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications.

How did this situation come about? Mr. Akon was reproached for taking some unfortunate initiatives: he signed some foreign agreements without informing the prime minister or the minister of economy and finance, who, by decree, are the only ones authorized to sign such agreements. It was, therefore, a disciplinary measure taken by the head of state upon the prime minister's recommendation in order to raise the moral standards of managing public affairs, starting with government members, who have to set the example of rigor and honesty. [passage omitted]

### Opposition Parties Hold Press Conference 19 Mar

AB2103144292 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French 19 Mar 92 p 3

[Text] A month after the 18 February march, the "Group of Eight" hosted a press conference at the Novotel Hotel yesterday. To be honest, not many people attended the meeting. This means that the opposition is already showing signs of weakness. What is more serious for the opposition is that the solidarity it has strived to show—

at least among the parties composing the group—after the 18 February march suddenly fell apart during yesterday's meeting.

The group's press conference began with a statement condemning "the brutality perpetrated against the democrats" and calling for the "immediate and unconditional release" of the people who were imprisoned after the events, as well as "their rehabilitation." This is the eternal litany. At this juncture, a colleague from the newspaper LE DEFI asked Zadi Zaourou of the Union of Social Democrats [USD] why the security forces did not come to his home as they did with Wodie of the Ivorian Workers' Party [PIT] and Bamba Morifere of the Ivorian Socialist Party [PSI]. Is it because he is on good terms with the Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast-African Democratic Rally [PDCI-RDA]?

This made Zadi Zaourou explain that before the 18 February march, on behalf of the USD, he personally asked the other parties of the group and the trade unions group to appeal to the Ivorian Popular Front [FPI] so that for once a united action could be taken despite the usual reluctance of Laurent Gbagbo's party. This suggestion, which was accepted by all the trade unions and the group of parties, was going to be taken to the FPI by two emissaries; namely, Marcel Ette and Degni Segui. The FPI responded that it would only accept trade union participation in the 18 February march. A third emissary, Deby Dali of the National Union of Information Employees, did not succeed in convincing Gbagbo.

Therefore, because the FPI refused to agree on a common action with the other groups, each of them took an individual stand instead of a collective one. Thus, at the USD, although the party's political bureau had decided that its leadership would not participate in the 18 February demonstrations, an order was given to the grass-roots members to participate. Even after trying in vain to get Gbagbo to involve the parties in the 18 February events, Professor Zadi Zaourou did not participate.

"Had he not said no, I would have been in prison today like Laurent Gbagbo and the others," Zadi Zaourou said. "Looking for connections with the PDCI is an old joke which has never caused me to lose sleep," the USD secretary general concluded.

The other leader of the group who denounced the FPI's refusal was Marc Behed of the Party for National Reconstruction and Democracy, PRND: "The PRND found it quite scandalous that on the evening of 17 February, at the headquarters of the Ivorian League of Human Rights [LIDHO], we were sent away like unclean people after five days of negotiations with the FPI. This, Ivorians must know... Mr. Behed feels that it is easy to accuse this or that person of going to see the PDCI or the government. "That is not the issue; the issue is with those who refuse the democratic forces..." This is how Mr. Behed concluded: "The political struggle is not about taking the Ivory Coast and then saying: This is my property, this is my cake. This is not what we want. What we are saying

is that Ivory Coast belongs to Ivorians, it belongs to all democrats, it belongs to all patriots, and we should close ranks to fight the ruling party."

Present at this press conference were Messrs Francis Wodie, who remained curiously silent, Bamba Morifere, Soumah Yadi of the Ivorian Liberal Party, and Siaka Toure of the Social Democrat Movement.

## Liberia

### Sawyer on Libya, Burkina Faso, Sierra Leone Trip

AB2003120592 London BBC World Service  
in English 0630 GMT 19 Mar 92

[From the "Network Africa" program]

[Text] Liberia's interim president, Dr. Amos Sawyer, has been in Freetown this week to discuss with his Sierra Leonean counterpart, President Joseph Momoh, the possibility of establishing some kind of buffer zone along their common border to prevent further attacks into Liberia by Ulimo [United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy], the group of Liberian fighters who oppose Charles Taylor and his NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia], but there was no agreement. Dr. Sawyer also recently went to Libya and Burkina Faso, two countries which have been accused of giving Charles Taylor military support. In Freetown, Bill Wager asked him how the trips to Libya and Burkina Faso had gone:

[Begin studio announcer recording] [Sawyer] All in the cause of peace we needed to talk to Colonel al-Qadhdhafi and he gave us his assurances that he would do all within his powers to work along with the Ecomog [Economic Community of West African States] heads of state in finding a solution to the Liberian problem.

We consulted with President Compaore who himself was one of the key authors of the Yamoussoukro accord. Trying to hammer out a solution, we had consultations with him and with colleagues elsewhere in the subregion again trying to get a more speedy implementation of the Yamoussoukro agreement to bring the conflict to an end.

[Wager] At the end of your talks with Col. al-Qadhdhafi, were you convinced that he meant what he was saying or was it just a diplomatic ploy?

[Sawyer] I have no reasons to think that the colonel would invite me up to Tripoli for a ruse. He has no reasons to do that. I take him at his word and he claimed that he is prepared to support [us] and I think he is going to do so.

[Wager] Finally, Mr. President, there is more talk about this buffer zone between Sierra Leone and Liberia, but nothing has come out of it as we are expecting. What is your view on this?

[Sawyer] Well, that is one of our greatest disappointments, really, because we believe the problem of the

scare about Ulimo, about infiltration across the borders, and a resolution to the crisis hinge in some considerable degree on the establishment of the buffer zone. We are disappointed that there has been no progress in that regard. [end recording]

### **Taylor Demands ULIMO's End Before Disarming**

*AB2103220592 Paris AFP in French 2125 GMT  
20 Mar 92*

[Text] Monrovia, 20 Mar (AFP)—Charles Taylor, leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL], demanded today that Liberia be "cleaned" of the armed men of the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (Ulimo) before his troops agree to any encampment and disarmament operations. This was announced by the rebel radio in Gbarnga.

According to the radio, Mr. Taylor stated that "even the United States cannot ask me to hand over my weapons, ammunition, and government to foreign troops," referring to the Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group, Ecomog. He further said that to do this "would only deprive the young men and women who have fought for this revolution of their victory," adding: "If anyone thinks that I am going to allow Ecomog to enter Gbarnga, put up roadblocks, and drive around with its sirens wailing as it does in Monrovia, then he must be dreaming."

Mr. Taylor, who has thus broken the promises made during the Yamoussoukro summit in October 1991, was responding to the statements made in Freetown by General Colin Powell, chairman of the U.S. joint chiefs of staff, who called for "political pressure" to be put on Taylor to force him to put an end to the Liberian crisis.

Meanwhile, villagers fleeing from Tahn and Benduma, 15 kilometers from Sierra Leone, report that fighting was still continuing between Taylor's troops, backed by heavy artillery, and Ulimo for the control of the Lofa River Bridge, an important crossing point.

### **ECOMOG Security Responsibilities Challenged**

*AB1903221892 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English  
1900 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Statement from the National Patriotic Front of Liberia's Bureau of Public Affairs of the Ministry of Information, Culture, Tourism, and Broadcasting—read by announcer]

[Text] Reports on the BBC that ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] is insisting that it alone will provide security for this nation (?breeds) serious doubts as to the sincerity of ECOMOG in its negotiations with the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia]. [Words indistinct] in Yamoussoukro that the warring factions must provide security in the respective areas until a genuine government is elected for this country. How then can

ECOMOG say it alone would take over our national security? It is will be ridiculous for this country to expect Nigerians, Ghanaians, and Senegalese to provide us more security than we can provide for ourselves. This will be tantamount to (?bequeathing) our national security to foreign troops of uncertain motives.

We have seen what happened in Monrovia; even with the presence of thousands of ECOMOG soldiers, criminal activity was rampant [words indistinct] occurred indiscriminately. Security was flat and Monrovia is afraid of tribal struggles, all under the very nose of thousands of ECOMOG troops. We also know what happened to the late Samuel Doe, who relied on ECOMOG for security but died in the very ECOMOG headquarters surrounded by thousands of ECOMOG troops. Now, ECOMOG tells us they want to man our borders while we sleep at night [words indistinct]. For one thing, the ECOMOG [words indistinct] our border. ECOMOG does not have the resources nor the willpower for such an exercise. For another thing, the ECOMOG is not familiar with the terrain and [words indistinct] at the border. Liberians may be [words indistinct] but no one should (?call us fools). National security is the responsibility of Liberians—not Guineans, not Sierra Leoneans, and not Senegalese. The NPFL has [words indistinct] being mindful of (?their) responsibilities to their mothers, the children, and all the people of this nation whose life and property the NPFL vowed to protect.

The NPFL has agreed that ECOMOG should deploy along the border, but the NPFL is saying that their known enemies are there. The NPFL is saying that ECOMOG should not expose itself to [words indistinct]. The NPFL is saying it is not ECOMOG's responsibility as a peacekeeping force to do combat with a transborder insurgence. The NPFL is telling ECOMOG to wait until the bandits are driven out. The NPFL is saying to ECOMOG that the NPFL also has a peacekeeping unit. A peacekeeping unit which could be deployed along with ECOMOG at the border. Such a joint force is [words indistinct] as a joint NPFL-ECOMOG setup [words indistinct]. Surely, this thing can be done at the border. Our [word indistinct] friends must understand that we cannot turn a blind eye to security. [Words indistinct] over the last few years, we expect the NPFL [words indistinct] for a change.

We understand that ECOMOG may be anxious to see Liberians in Monrovia who wish to see the [words indistinct] for we hope ECOMOG also will understand that these are the very Liberians who support the ULIMO [United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy] (?followers). We hope ECOMOG understands that these Liberians want to [words indistinct] struggle immediately involved with this ECOMOG and ULIMO can stay in Liberia. These Liberians want ULIMO considered a [words indistinct] to gain some territory and have a border with [word indistinct]. This, the NPFL will not allow.



The technical negotiation between the NPFL and ECOMOG is a delicate procedure. ECOMOG should not expect the NPFL to rush into a decision we will all regret. While Yamoussoukro spelt out a timetable, that timetable took a low consideration of the ULIMO attack and been beaten on the ground. The Yamoussoukro document was a good one. It was good as a basis for prior discussion and could not be seen as a part in the conflict. The condition under which Yamoussoukro was signed, I am saying and all parties to be willing to adapt to these changes. The NPFL is sincere about peace. The NPFL remains committed to the (?conditions) of Yamoussoukro. But Liberians, wherever their indulgence will lie, and foreign forces, whatever their influence may be, should realize that our national pride is at stake.

Our very Liberianism is threatened if we do not take full responsibility for our destiny, for our national security, and our national integrity. We should not want others to do for us that which we can and must do for ourselves.

## Nigeria

### Newspaper's Chief Editor Released 'Conditionally'

AB2303123592 Paris AFP in French 1835 GMT  
21 Mar 92

[Text] Lagos, 21 Mar (AFP)—Folu Olamiti, editor in chief of the NIGERIAN TRIBUNE, the oldest independent newspaper in Nigeria, was released conditionally at Ibadan (capital of Oyo state, 140 km north of Lagos) yesterday evening, an employee of the newspaper reported today. Mr. Olamiti, who was arrested on 18 March for an article entitled "Ibadan in State of Siege," will have to report to the police on 23 March to answer questions from the authorities, the employee explained in a telex to AFP.

The NIGERIAN TRIBUNE, founded in 1949 and which has its headquarters in Ibadan, the second largest city in Nigeria, stated in the article published on 18 March that Ibadan was living "in fear of incessant raids by the police." The daily went on to say that plainclothes policemen arrested passersby at random every day from early evening till midnight and did not release them until they had "paid their quota."

Victor Antwi, the deputy editor in chief of the daily, was arrested on 19 March because of the same article but was released the following morning.

## Togo

### Cabinet Examines, Adopts Draft Constitution

AB2103104192 Lome Radio Lome in French  
0600 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Communique issued by the cabinet on 18 March in Lome and read by government spokesman Jean Yaovi Degli—recorded]

[Text] The government held a cabinet meeting today at the Entente Palace. During this session the government examined and adopted the draft Constitution which, in accordance with Act 13 of the sovereign national conference, will be submitted to the High Council of the Republic, publicized by an intensive information campaign, and then put to a referendum.

The government then examined and adopted a bill on the organization of a constitutional referendum.

Finally, the government heard a progress report from the secretary of state for territorial administration and security on the preparatory work for the proposed electoral census set for 21, 22, and 23 March.

To this effect, the government calls on the entire population to mobilize to help make this electoral census a success because the outcome will be decisive and essential for the success of our country's democratic process.

[Issued] Lome, 18 March

### Approves Electoral Code

AB2103102092 Lome Radio Lome in French  
0600 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] The cabinet met in an extraordinary session yesterday during which the government examined and approved the draft electoral code. This code concerns measures pertaining to the organization of presidential and legislative elections as well as the election of prefect and municipal council members.

The cabinet also approved another decree on creating a committee to evaluate the damage caused by social and political disturbances.



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